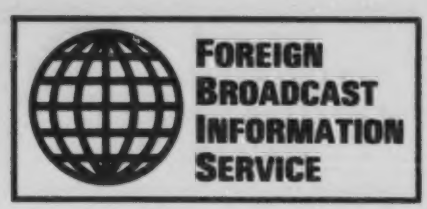

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Paper Deplores Cuban Line on Gulf Events

PM1508131690 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 14 Aug 90 p 3

[Report by correspondent A. Novikov: "Oil and Gunpowder"]

[Text] I know that in journalism, as in any other creative work, borrowing is not encouraged, but I can't help it—a colleague of mine here has already put it rather well: "If you read the Cuban newspapers, then it seems as though the United States and not Iraq has invaded Kuwait." And indeed, having taken local newspapers on several recent days, I have copied the following headlines from them: "United States Prepares War Scenario," "New Yankee Ships in Persian Gulf," "American Aggression Against Iraq Planned," "Tension in Gulf Heightened By Dispatch of Yankee Troops and Military Equipment to Saudi Arabia," "Cuba Accuses United States of Interfering in Persian Gulf," and so on in the same vein.

It would appear strange for the Near East crisis to be commented upon from Latin America, for thousands of miles separate these regions. However, the distance is shrunk by politics. And so it turned out that Cuba and Yemen found themselves side by side, having both abstained from the UN Security Council vote on the question of economic sanctions against Iraq. Two against 13. A bolt from the blue, especially as for the four previous days the Cubans unconditionally supported the Security Council resolution condemning the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait. What is this all about?

By all accounts Cuba's rejection of the 6 August resolution is due to the fact that it was proposed by the United States. Speaking in the Security Council, Cuban representative Ricardo Alarcon posed the question: Is the United States really standing up for Kuwait's national interests or is it pursuing its own strategic and hegemonic goals in the Near East? Cuba, in his words, has not the slightest doubts on that score.

This same thought was developed in the message that Fidel Castro recently sent to the leaders of Arab countries. Calling the Iraqi occupation of Kuwait "a regrettable and unacceptable action," he let it be understood that the main threat to the region stems, in his opinion, from... Washington. Proof of this is the perpetual U.S. veto during Security Council discussion of Israeli policy in the occupied Arab territories, and the U.S. military actions against Grenada, Libya, and Panama. The Cuban leader said that it would be naive and very dangerous even to the slightest extent to accept the White House's arguments as the truth, arguments it is using in an effort to fan the conflict. As regards U.S. calls to "punish" Iraq, this is all a pretext to effect an armed invasion and strengthen its hegemony in the Near East region.

Explaining Cuba's position during Security Council discussion of economic sanctions against Iraq, Fidel said that one should not "throw more wood onto the fire of war." The introduction of a total economic blockade of Iraq is, in his opinion, a hasty step which reduces the possibility of settling the conflict peacefully. He favored the withdrawal of Iraqi forces and complete restoration of Kuwaiti sovereignty, but stated that that must be achieved by political means.

If the current situation is viewed from Havana, it is unusual for yet another reason. For the first time in 30 years the Soviet Union and Cuba have found themselves on different sides of the foreign policy divide. Here, of course, there is no confrontation, but there is a nonco-incidence of opinions. And this also spells the end of the times when the USSR's position on one question or another almost automatically predetermined Cuba's identical position.

Ideology, by all accounts, is no longer the lodestone making our two countries always follow an identical course.

And another observation concerning the current Near East crisis. The sorrowful confession that the deliveries to Iraq of Soviet weapons worth hundreds of millions of dollars over many years "are the past mistakes of our foreign policy" recently appeared in one of the central Soviet newspapers. But after all, an end has been put to these "past mistakes" only now, after the piratical adventure by Iraq, which crushed its defenseless neighbor by once again bringing into play Soviet "freely convertible" gun barrels.

However, we shall not pretend that irresponsibility in foreign policy ended with the arrival of the blessed April of 1985.

"Past mistakes..." Just when are we going to learn from them? And when will we finally grasp that it is desirable to make foreign policy conform to moral norms all the time and not just from time to time?

Shevardnadze Cables UN Chief on Arms Sales

LD1408142990 Moscow TASS in English 1421 GMT 14 Aug 90

[Text] Moscow August 14 TASS—The Soviet Union has called for restricting international sales and supplies of conventional weapons, says a letter by Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze to U.N. Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar published here today.

The letter points to the need to put this problem on the United Nations agenda and notes that arms supplies often "run counter to the present positive development of the international situation."

Shevardnadze believes it is necessary to apply the principle of transition from super-armament to reasonable sufficiency for defence to the problem of the restriction of international sales and supplies of conventional weapons.

He also calls for limiting the proliferation of the most destructive and destabilising weapons.

In his opinion, it is important to establish an efficient multilateral regime of non-proliferation of some types of missiles and missile technology.

Shevardnadze notes that the implementation of measures to achieve openness and limit the arms trade "would open prospects for drafting a convention, under U.N. auspices, to restrict international arms sales and supplies."

More on Shevardnadze Letter

LD1408161790 Moscow TASS in English 1558 GMT 14 Aug 90

[Text] Moscow August 14 TASS—The Soviet Union has called for the restriction of international sales and supplies of conventional weapons, says a letter by Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze to U.N. Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar, published here today.

The letter points to the need to put this problem on the United Nations agenda and notes that arms supplies often "run counter to the present positive development of the international situation."

Shevardnadze confirmed Soviet readiness for a dialogue on the restriction of sales and supplies of conventional weapons with the United States and other suppliers, as well as with recipient countries and regional organisations.

He expressed conviction that "the prestige of the United Nations should be involved in settling these issues."

Shevardnadze believes it is necessary to apply the principle of transition from super-armament to reasonable sufficiency for defence to the problem of restriction of international sales and supplies of conventional weapons.

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In his opinion, it is important to establish an efficient multilateral regime of non-proliferation of some types of missiles and missile technology.

Stressing the importance of openness in this sphere, Shevardnadze called for the legislatures of U.N. member-states to debate arms sales and purchases. He said that the Soviet leadership intended to draft and submit an appropriate law for the consideration of the Soviet parliament.

Shevardnadze supported establishing a register of arms sales and supplies at the United Nations, expressing Soviet readiness to participate.

He said that the restriction of sales based on mutuality or the imposition of a moratorium should be a part of any package of commitments on a political settlement of world conflicts.

Dealing with the struggle against illegal arms trafficking, Shevardnadze pointed to a possibility of establishing (as is the case with illegal narcotics trafficking) cooperation between customs and law enforcement services of states.

In Shevardnadze's opinion, the implementation of measures to achieve openness and limit the arms trade "would open prospects for drafting a convention, under U.N. auspices, to restrict international arms sales and supplies."

Analyst Discusses Prospects for Vienna Talks

LD1408180990 Moscow TASS in English 1749 GMT 14 Aug 90

[By TASS military analyst Vladimir Chernyshev]

[Text] Moscow August 14 TASS—European political analysts are waiting to see whether 23 Warsaw Treaty and NATO countries will manage to hammer out a treaty on conventional armed forces in Europe in Vienna before a European summit in Paris in November.

This question is undoubtedly on the minds of representatives of both East and West. Indeed, the summit will begin in less than 100 days.

The Vienna negotiators have done much: They have agreed over 30 per cent of the treaty, over 50 per cent of a protocol on inspections and reached an understanding on the very difficult question of armoured forces.

Nevertheless, there are still many outstanding issues.

One of the most important is the problem of air force reduction. It was discussed with difficulty for a long time. The differences have somewhat narrowed, although there is a long way to go before full agreement is reached.

In the opinion of the Soviet Union, the chances for an understanding would rise if the West took account of the USSR's geostrategic interests when discussing the issue of air defence interceptor fighters.

It is also high time for NATO countries to think about a compromise on naval aviation.

Western representatives claim that only land-based naval jets should be cut, disregarding the East's concern over warplanes based on aircraft carriers.

They know that sea-based aviation can inflict as much damage as a land-based air force.

There are also problems concerning control and the order of destroying weapons and military hardware to be reduced.

An understanding was reached to destroy artillery and some other systems over two to three years after the treaty goes into force. As for tanks and armoured cars, the Soviet Union which has greater numbers of them than NATO countries, will need much more time for their destruction and re-equipment for utilisation in the economy.

Since the West is interested in equalising these weapons in the two blocs, it should display more reason in determining a realistic time for the East to destroy tanks and armoured cars.

Together with these and other issues which were put on the agenda of talks long ago, other problems have emerged recently.

The new situation in Europe in connection with German unification and the withdrawal of Soviet troops from central Europe has meant that the sides will find themselves in unequal conditions if changes in the balance of forces and interests of many European states are not taken into account.

Therefore, it is necessary to change the present conceptual framework of the Vienna talks and to review the distribution of regional sublevels of weapons and military hardware as well as the principle of restricting weapons for a single country.

Thus, the remaining period is becoming a serious test for negotiators and their ability to display flexibility, a constructive approach and dynamism.

Grinevskiy Interviewed on Vienna Talks

LD1008185590 Moscow TASS in English 1804 GMT 10 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondent Vladimir Smelov]

[Text] Vienna August 10 TASS—Participants in the Vienna talks must work out a significant document on confidence-building and security measures before the November all-European summit in Paris.

A technical break was declared today at the talks which have achieved considerable progress in a number of minor issues.

The sides reached a consensus on the exchange of information on military budgets. There has been noticeable progress in the creation of a unified communications system. Participants are discussing annual conferences to implement the already agreed upon confidence-building and security measures. They have reached accord on the development of some provisions of the Stockholm agreements.

These provisions are not sufficient for a truly substantial, final document. This can be reached only by extending confidence-building measures to military activities on the land, in the sea, and in the air and by including a provision on the limitation of military activities.

NATO countries reject this point of view. Such differences arouse a well-grounded concern among other participants in the talks. They stress that a breakthrough is only possible if the states who differ over the extension of confidence-building measures to include the Air Force and Navy display a readiness to compromise.

"We still believe that while elaborating a qualitatively new set of confidence-building and security measures, it is impossible to ignore the extension of these measures to military activities of land forces, navies, and air forces as well as it is impossible to avoid the problem of limiting military activities," the head of the Soviet delegation, ambassador at large Oleg Grinevskiy, told TASS.

"But taking into account the time factor, and in fact little time is left before the all-European summit, we propose that participants in the talks concentrate on reaching an agreement and including in a document for the Paris summit the following provisions concerning the Navy: Exchange of statistical information, extension of notification and supervision to military activities of the Navy that are held together with land forces and amphibious operations, and a seminar on naval doctines within the framework of the CSCE," Grinevskiy said.

The creation of all-European institutions has become another important direction at the talks. New structures, together with other functions, will have to increase the efficiency of current and future confidence-building measures. The measures themselves should give content to the security structures that are to be created.

In other words, the institutionalization of the CSCE process and the elaboration of new confidence-building and security measures are two sides of the same process of the confidence-building and security process.

This close identification has been highlighted by the problems in the establishment of a center to prevent conflicts and exchange military information. Participants in the talks are almost unanimous about having the center become a link to new models of security in Europe. When determining the center's range of activities, proposals have shown a high degree of similarity.

Solzhenitsyn Citizenship Possibly Restored

LD1508133590 Moscow TASS in English 1309 GMT 15 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondents Boris Zverev and Sergey Postanogov]

[Text] Moscow August 15 TASS—President Mikhail Gorbachev has abrogated the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet's 1966-1988 decisions taking Soviet citizenship away from a number of people now living abroad, Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Yuriy Gremitskikh told a briefing here today.

He did not identify any of those people. But when asked if they included Nobel Prize winning author Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, he said: "I heard that he may have been restored his citizenship."

Politburo's Yanayev Cited on Foreign Policy

PM1508085790 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 Aug 90 Second Edition pp 1, 5

[Interview with G.I. Yanayev, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, by G. Vasilyev; place and date of interview not given: "To Take a Broad, Unblinkered View of the World"—first two paragraphs are PRAVDA introduction]

[Text] Gennadiy Ivanovich Yanayev has been entrusted with conducting international affairs on the new Politburo. He is 53 years old. He had a "dual" higher education—agricultural and juridical. He is a candidate of historical sciences. He has traveled a big path through life, which has included both work as a rural machine operator and All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League, party, and state activity.

The first question suggested itself.

[Vasilyev] What specifically are your duties? What is the role of the CPSU Central Committee in shaping our country's foreign policy today?

[Yanayev] My duties, like those of all Politburo members, are to ensure the fulfillment of the decisions of the 28th CPSU Congress and of Central Committee plenums. My sector is the sphere of the party's international activity. The CPSU has extensive international ties. There is cooperation with communist and workers parties, the recently strengthening ties with social democratic and other left-wing parties and democratic organizations, and, finally, also relations with bourgeois political parties and public organizations interested in contacts with us. Through these contacts we endeavor to consolidate the positive changes taking place in international affairs and to promote the democratization and humanization of international relations.

In addition, as the strongest political force in our society today, the CPSU must have its own view of the development of the international situation, a view free from departmental blinkeredness. Under the conditions which have taken shape in our society the party must offer a broad vision of the modern world, its own understanding of long-term guidelines for the state's activity in the world arena, and ways to resolve the most important, fundamental problems. Under conditions of political pluralism the party must be prepared for questions of international politics to become the subject of ideological debate and political struggle. An open comparison and healthy rivalry of foreign policy ideas and concepts is essentially a necessary constituent part of the constitutional mechanism for discussing and formulating foreign policy decisions. We intend to bring our assessments and the resulting recommendations to the notice of the leadership of the party and the country, which will adopt the final decisions in accordance with the existing procedures.

We have no intention of trying to supplant or "supplement" particular state organs—we have things to tackle apart from that. At the same time it should not be forgotten that, while the CPSU remains the ruling party, it will bear considerable responsibility for the elaboration of the Soviet Union's foreign policy strategy.

[Vasilyev] As was pointed out at the 28th CPSU Congress, major positive change have occurred in the international situation in recent years. How do you see the present state of world affairs and the prospects for the future?

[Yanayev] Over the past few years it has been possible to break the extremely dangerous trend of sliding toward a global military catastrophe. Trust among the peoples and states has been deepened. The deadlock in the arms reduction process has been overcome. Solutions to a number of chronic conflicts have been found. To put it more briefly, the world has entered a period of dynamic development. The static structures of interaction between the "two systems" of the cold war times are collapsing and vanishing into the past. A new world is taking shape on the debris of the old structures.

But we should not reckon that everything will now go "swimmingly." The end of the cold war does not mean the irreversible ousting from international relations of such elements of that war as "nuclear deterrence," the threat of force or its use, and the arms race as an instrument of political and economic pressure. All sorts of relapses are still possible during the transitional period that we are in, and we must be ready for them. Of critical importance in this sense is the present stage, when the old mechanisms for ensuring security are vanishing and new ones capable of guaranteeing that particular states will not decide to take advantage of the situation by gearing themselves to an egoistic policy aimed at strengthening their positions do not yet exist.

But the nature of our development will probably be the chief factor. If we find within ourselves the strength to drag the country out of the present crisis and if we are able to stabilize our ship in the raging sea of political passions, the world really will acquire prospects of civilized development. But if.... However, let us, rather, proceed from the lack of an alternative to this task.

[Vasilyev] How do you rate the normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations?

[Yanayev] I am convinced that M.S. Gorbachev's meeting in Beijing with Deng Xiaoping and the other Chinese leaders last year marked the start of a new history of our relations with China. Closing the negative page of the past, it laid the foundations for a new type of contact between two great socialist countries, free both

from confrontation, which brought our peoples nothing good, and from attempts to revive the former strategic alliance.

The full normalization of relations with the PRC was a major breakthrough in our international policy and attested once again to the effectiveness of the new thinking.

As a party worker, I am particularly satisfied with the restoration and the constructive development of the CPSU's ties with the CPC. They are distinguished by a not at all protocol nature, but by a businesslike, comradely nature. Interparty contacts help us to understand each other better and to study and apply useful experience in the matter of socialism's renewal.

Of course, the situations in the USSR and in China are different, as are the approaches to many specific decisions. But we are convinced that this is no reason for disunity. On the contrary, a diversity of views enriches the theory and practice of socialist building.

There is no need to demonstrate that friendship and good-neighborliness between two such world powers as the USSR and the PRC make a weighty contribution to improving the general climate on the planet.

[Vasilyev] Profound changes are taking place in East Europe....

[Yanayev] Yes, really profound changes are taking place in East European countries. I would say, dramatic. And not only in political structures but also in the socioeconomic sphere. It is not yet easy to define their common denominator and possible result. One thing is clear—the distorted dogmatic model of socialism which, as is known, was established there not without our assistance is receding into the past. It has not stood the test of time.

These countries' common desire to ensure freedom of expression for the interests of all groups in society and to build a mixed and efficient market economy has now become clearly apparent. These processes differ in form in various countries and are developing at different speeds.

In certain East European countries the political pendulum has swung noticeably to the right. Unfortunately, motifs of national hostility, social vengeance, and anticommunism unworthy of a civilized society have begun to be heard. As you know, the 28th CPSU Congress responded to these and similar phenomena with the resolution "In Defense of Democratic Rights, Against Persecution of Communists."

[Vasilyev] What do you think about the future of our ties with East European countries? Along what lines should they develop?

[Yanayev] We believe that we objectively have a solid base for the development and consistent deepening of equitable, good-neighborly, mutually advantageous ties in very different spheres of life—ranging from politics and security to the economy, ecology, and culture. Here I would single out the words "mutually advantageous." It is no secret that over recent decades both we and our CEMA and Warsaw Pact partners have formed the impression that we give each other short measure and that in relations muddied by ideological accretions each one loses more than he gains.

We are now full of determination to restructure relations with our neighbors in East Europe so as to satisfy as fully as possible both their and our own interests. So that each state takes an active part in the process of building the common European home and in shaping security structures common to all states on the continent.

Interparty contacts must also play a constructive role here. The CPSU has maintained and now preserves ties with parties and organizations of a left-wing, socialist orientation. We are ready to cooperate with all progressive, democratic parties and movements in East Europe which seek to create equitable relations between our countries and a climate of trust on the continent.

[Vasilyev] Some of our readers ask whether we were in too much of a hurry to give our consent to Germany's unification and NATO membership. What gave rise to our "supertractability" in this question?

[Yanayev] The process of the two Germanies' unification is underpinned by historical logic, and it would be fundamentally wrong and also useless to slow it down. After all, ever since the first postwar years we have resolutely advocated Germany's state unity, and only the West's unilateral actions aimed at splitting it forced us to depart from that course.

The allies' renunciation of their rights and the reinstatement of Germany's sovereignty are the line that must be drawn under a tragic chapter in German and European history in order to move forward toward the creation of the common European home.

The terms reached in the talks with H. Kohl must not be forgotten either. The FRG's recognition of the Polish border, the united Germany's rejection of nuclear, chemical, and biological weapons, and the limiting of the German Army to 370,000 men will undoubtedly benefit European stability.

In addition, it would be possible to preserve the GDR as an independent state after a social explosion has occurred there only by means of force and tanks—which would lead to the creation of a hotbed of monstrous tension at the center of Europe, turn the Germans into our overt enemies, set us against the whole civilized world, and wreck the perestroyka of our society.

Of course, everyone would like to have 100-percent guarantees of the predictable behavior of the 85 million-strong giant at the heart of Europe. The unreliability of the NATO and EC structures in this sense is obvious. Under conditions of the total elimination of the "threat from the East" the U.S. military and also political

presence in a sovereign, united Germany will hardly survive ours by long. So the NATO "nurse" will be able to cope with her obligations for a very short time. As for the EC, Germany will hardly tolerate any attempts to regulate its political course when it has become the community's economic leader. Therefore the most reliable guarantee can only be the united Germany's integration into all-European structures, whose creation must be accelerated.

[Vasilyev] Sometimes people ask this question—should we not stop our aid for Cuba?

[Yanayev] The U.S. leadership tries to link the development of economic ties with the USSR to our country's abandonment of the relations which have evolved with Cuba, including economic cooperation. Such linkages are totally unacceptable. They result from the fact that U.S. policy with regard to Cuba still proceeds from the concepts of the cold war times. I am convinced that an improvement in Soviet-U.S. relations cannot take place at the expense of our ties with third countries.

As regards Soviet-Cuban relations, they are developing steadily and fruitfully. The Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation concluded last year between the USSR and Cuba is an important step on the path of their further deepening and their transfer to a qualitatively new level in keeping with today's demands and—particular emphasis must be placed on this—with mutual interests. Of course, there are problems in our ties with Cuba. It would be strange if there were none. And it is necessary to resolve them, ensuring the sides' maximum mutual advantage.

[Vasilyev] The Program Statement of the 28th CPSU Congress states that "the USSR's foreign policy strategy must proceed from the ideas of peace, cooperation, interaction, progress, and humanism; contribute in every possible way to the processes of our internal perestroyka and to ensuring international security." It speaks of the vital need to "pool the efforts of all members of the international community in resolving the common problems facing mankind." At the same time the statement does not contain the former wording of the points which we advanced earlier on the priority of panhuman values and the deideologization of interstate relations. Does this mean they have been abandoned?

[Yanayev] A rather strange assumption. Do the "ideas of peace, cooperation, interaction, progress, and humanism" not fall within the concept of panhuman values? Is it possible to "pool the efforts of all members of the international community in resolving the common problems facing mankind" without the consistent deideologization of interstate relations? In my opinion, the wording you cited leaves no room for any ambiguities. This is important, for it is not a question of rhetoric!

Over the years of perestroyka the party has traveled a tremendous path in interpreting the main trends in the modern world. And this process is continuing. The priority of panhuman values is one of the most important principles of the new political thinking which the party and also the whole country have literally arrived at through suffering. But it does not, of course, mean abandoning or forgetting national interests. It is essentially a question of abandoning the concepts of the nature and essence of our national interests which for several decades were sacrificed to a "bright future" and "historical expediency"—concepts deformed by ideological dogmas and confrontational stereotypes. This in turn contributed to our country's unnatural isolation in the world and held back integration trends, reproducing an atmosphere of hostility, suspicion, and mistrust. Strictly speaking, it was largely thanks to the political "rehabilitation" of our own national interests that prospects were opened up for the radical restructuring of the system of international relations on the basis of stability, security, and a balance of interests, i.e. on the basis of panhuman interests.

To put it more briefly, we adhere firmly to the positions of the new political thinking based on a realistic view of the modern world. Precisely a realistic view making it possible to see the world in all its diversity—its contradictoriness, the complex interlacing of diverse interests, and the combination of reassuring changes with phenomena which inspire definite anxiety.

[Vasilyev] The USSR's foreign policy based on the ideas of the new political thinking enjoys broad support both in our country and throughout the world. However, critical voices have been heard here recently (they were aired at the congress, too). Some people ask whether we are weakening our defense capability by means of unilateral disarmament measures and whether we are going too far in accords with the West on arms reduction.

[Yanayev] The new political thinking has enabled the world to emerge in a short space of time from the extremely dangerous international situation which took shape in the second half of the seventies and the early eighties. Thanks to it, it has been possible:

—to lessen the direct threat of war by strengthening security for the first time in the postwar period not by means of costly buildups of military force but by political means;

—to turn relations with the West in a calm direction;

—to set in motion mechanisms of real disarmament;

—to achieve universal understanding of the fact that the threats hanging over mankind—from the nuclear threat to the ecological threat—can only be averted through joint efforts and that it is not confrontation but dialogue that is the only sensible method of resolving acute international problems;

—to deliver the Soviet people from the politically absurd and morally—I would say, immorally—and materially exhausting burden of the Afghan war.

This list could be continued and continued.

Now about defense capability. While universal disarmament remains a daydream, the country must maintain a reliable defense capability. But this defense capability must be the optimum one from the viewpoint of the level of security. This is like a person's temperature—it must be normal in a healthy person. To some extent the crisis of our society is linked with its "overheating" in the arms race, and so it is necessary to "bring down the temperature" in order to make a recovery.

Here it is obviously necessary to be guided by the fact that, the fewer nuclear warheads or other arms are targeted on our country, the stronger its security is. Is it important which side has cut back more weapons? For the chief thing is not a balance of the weapons being cut but a balance of the weapons remaining. And if we have more of certain categories of weapons, tanks for example, then we should cut back more—can this be called a concession infringing our security?

So where, then, is the undermining of positions? In the fact that we have begun building our policy not on the strength of weapons but on the strength of reason? In the fact that, instead of an atmosphere of hostility and confrontation, we have secured the safest external conditions for development?

Just the last two decades of confrontation with the West's combined might added R700 billion to the cost of military opposition for us—does even this not sober up the champions of our greatness?

Our country has been great not only for the last 40 or 70 years. We have a 1,000-year history, and Russia's greatness from time immemorial was associated with its people's creative potential, its inexhaustible resources, and its unique location on the dividing line between Europe and Asia. It is our duty to return to it a greatness founded on the ability to constructively resolve the problems facing mankind, having renounced the megalomania which we contracted from ideological arrogance multiplied by the ability to destroy half the world.

[Vasilyev] What, in your view, is the connection between our country's foreign and domestic policies?

[Yanayev] The organic unity of the domestic and foreign policy strategy of perestroyka has been reflected in the new political thinking. It surmounts the dualism of domestic and foreign policy which existed for decades. It is addressed equally to the country and the surrounding world. Perestroyka essentially marks our return to the world community, and the world community has unanimously evaluated it as a most important political event of modern times. Therefore our difficulties and troubles today arouse in the world not malicious gloating nor a wish on the part of people to warm their hands but a desire to help and to make what contribution they can to overcoming them. From the viewpoint of the country's long-term interests foreign policy can hardly produce anything more.

Ovchinnikov Welcomes Asian-Pacific Process

PM1508084890 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
14 Aug 90 Second Edition p 4

["Viewpoint" by Vsevolod Ovchinnikov: "Compromises Are Essential"]

[Text] The middle of summer was rich in significant events for the Asian-Pacific region. An official statement of historic significance was made at the meeting between the heads of the USSR and U.S. foreign policy departments in Irkutsk: The Soviet Union and the United States no longer consider one another to be military opponents either in Europe or in Asia. This requires a fresh look at the problems of security and development in the Asian-Pacific region and an abandonment of the obsolete stereotypes of the period of confrontation between East and West.

It was stated that the USSR and the United States now consider that their role is to join the other countries in contributing to the formation of processes that will embrace the whole region in the future and that will lead to the establishment of equal, mutually advantageous relations based on a balance of interests and freedom of choice. The Irkutsk meeting participants welcomed the improvement of the situation in the Asian-Pacific region and the slight reduction of military confrontation there and of the military presence on foreign territories. In order to support and develop this trend, the USSR and the United States intend to cooperate closely with China, Japan, Canada, India, Pakistan, and the ASEAN countries.

Another important event of recents days also comes into the category of positive changes: The restoration of diplomatic relations between China and Indonesia. After 25 years of estrangement, due to the fact that Jakarta accused Beijing of involvement in the 1965 attempted coup d'etat, normal links are being resumed between the biggest states in the Far East and Southeast Asia.

One after another the tiffs and grudges that have done the peoples nothing but harm are being overcome. The normalization of relations between Beijing and Moscow has brought obvious benefit not only to our two countries, but to Asia as a whole. The course of demilitarizing the Soviet-Chinese border was a concrete step toward military detente in the region. After a lengthy break, official contacts have resumed at the top level between the major Asian powers—China and India. It is gratifying that dialogue has commenced between Beijing and Hanoi and between Hanoi and Washington.

An accord has been reached on an exchange of official visits between the North and South Korean government heads. The meeting between M.S. Gorbachev and No Tae-u in San Francisco gave impetus to processes that could radically reduce tension on the Korean peninsula. Conferences of the permanent members of the UN Security Council and the dialogue involving the USSR, United States, PRC, ASEAN members, and states of

Indochina give hope of a decisive breakthrough in the settlement of the Cambodian problem.

This, in particular, was discussed at the second conference of the Asian-Pacific Economic Council (APEC) in Singapore. This regional consultative forum was set up last November in Canberra. It brings together 12 states, which account for 46 percent of world industrial production and one-third of international trade. They are the United States, Japan, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Indonesia, Thailand, the Philippines, Malaysia, Singapore, Brunei, and South Korea.

In Singapore it was decided to hold the next meeting in Seoul next October and to reach agreement there on admitting China, Taiwan, and Hong Kong to APEC. It was also agreed that the question of the remaining Asian-Pacific states, in particular the Soviet Union, becoming members would be decided later, in view of their involvement in the region's affairs. I believe this is also a positive trend. The APEC organizers claim that they do not envisage creating an exclusive bloc, but they intend to contribute to the free movement of goods, capital, and technology. Integration and concerted efforts by states are a sign of the times. But this process could be counterproductive in the event of a selective, let alone discriminatory approach.

It is noteworthy that in the recent discussions there have been calls for the establishment of an effective working mechanism for the discussion of regional problems on a multilateral basis. The Australian and Canadian representatives did not beat about the bush: Why not convene a conference on security and cooperation in Asia, like the Helsinki one, and why not initiate a "CSCA process," similar to the "CSCE process"?

The most restrained reaction to this initiative was from Japan. In its view, such a meeting would only be appropriate once regional conflicts, including the issue of the "northern territories," have been settled. Tokyo claims that confrontation between East and West cannot be stopped unless this dispute is resolved. Efforts are being made to internationalize the issue. It was made a topic of discussion at the "Big Seven" meeting in Houston and at the annual conference of of ASEAN foreign ministers in Jakarta. I do not think it is productive to turn a bilateral dispute into an international one.

As for the discussion of regional problems on a multilateral basis, this is long overdue. It is gratifying to see at least agreement to intermediate steps in that direction. In reply to Canada's initiative—to form permament security and cooperation structures beginning in the northern part of the Pacific basin, with Soviet, U.S., Chinese, Japanese, Canadian, and North and South Korean representatives meeting to discuss the problems of the Korean peninsula—Japan proposed holding consultations among the relevant countries' foreign ministers in New York this September. The Canadian-Japanese accord is in many respects consonant with the Soviet proposal that was once put forward in Krasnoyarsk.

In short, increasingly favorable prerequisites are taking shape for the development of a CSCA process in addition to the CSCE process in the West.

United States & Canada

U.S. Polls Show Support for Bush Intervention

PM1408192390 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Aug 90 First Edition p 5

[Report by PRAVDA correspondent V. Linnik under the general heading: "Persian Gulf: The Specter of War"]

[Text] New York—The prevailing mood in U.S. public opinion as regards the Near East crisis is fairly clear-cut. The results of opinion polls published in the press show that Americans support President Bush's decision to sent airborne assault troops, marines, and the U.S. Air Force and Navy to Saudi Arabia. Approximately three-fourths of those polled approve of this step of the president. The only thing that the Americans clearly do not like is the president's departure on vacation at the height of the crisis. However, the White House is skilled at swiftly neutralizing the wave of public dissatisfaction. It has been officially announced that the President is returning to Washington for two days "in order to hold briefings."

However, the serious concern felt by Americans in connection with the largest U.S. military operation since the Vietnam war is also evident.

"It seems that we are getting involved in a protracted conflict with highly uncertain consequences," I was told by M. Getler, THE WASHINGTON POST assistant editor for international issues. "It is difficult to dispell alarm at the thought of how all this may affect our economy, our relations with the Arab world, and the life of U.S. servicemen currently in Saudi Arabia."

"Maintaining U.S. troops in the Persian Gulf will, according to the Pentagon's estimates, cost between $300 and $450 million per month," Professor R. Farkas of DePaul University, Chicago, believes. "Can we afford this in a situation when the country's budget deficit has reached colossal dimensions?"

U.S. Defense Secretary Announces Military Cuts

LD1408115190 Moscow TASS in English 1129 GMT 14 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondent Aleksandr Korolev]

[Text] Washington August 14 TASS—U.S. Defence Secretary Richard Cheney has announced cuts in programmes for the production of Sea Wolf attack submarines and Arleigh Berke destroyers, a move which is expected to save the Pentagon seven billion dollars in the coming four years.

This has become possible primarily due to the diminishing Soviet threat, Cheney said. There is little doubt that the latest developments in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe have changed the social and political outlines of the world and U.S. current planning estimates are based on the increasingly tangible prospects for a relaxation of international tension, Cheney said.

Nevertheless, the United States will still require superior maritime forces to maintain free and open use of the seas, Cheney said.

The cuts are part of Cheney's overhaul of the country's major military programmes, prompted by congressional pressure to slash military spending.

After a four-month analysis of the combatant ships situation, the original plan for the construction of 100 attack submarines was revised, according to a Pentagon statement.

Instead of purchasing ten combatant ships every three years, it was decided to purchase only three submarines every two years. Nevertheless, a decision on the size of the Navy submarine fleet is still under discussion, the statement says.

According to Cheney's order, four Arleigh Berke destroyers will be purchased annually, not five or six. This will enable the Pentagon to have 16 such ships at its disposal by the end of the 1994 fiscal year, and not 25 as was planned earlier.

Karpov, Visiting U.S. Senator Discuss Disarmament

LD1408184990 Moscow TASS in English 1824 GMT 14 Aug 90

[Text] Moscow, August 14 TASS—Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Viktor Karpov today received U.S. Senator John McCain, visiting Moscow to attend the U.N. International Conference on Conversion.

They discussed disarmament problems.

Canadian Defense Chief Concludes Soviet Visit

Holds Talks With Moiseyev

PM1008130190 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 8 Aug 90 First Edition p 3

[Unattributed report: "On an Official Visit"]

[Excerpt] General A.J. de Chasterlain, chief of the Canadian Defense Staff, arrived in the Soviet Union 6 August at the invitation of Army General M.A. Moiseyev, chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff and first deputy USSR defense minister.

Army General M.A. Moiseyev and other officials met the guest and the persons accompanying him at the airport. D. Taylor, Canadian charge d'affaires ad interim in the USSR, was among the welcoming party.

There was a conversation between Army Gen. M.A. Moiseyev and Gen. A.J. de Chasterlain the same day, during which the state of affairs at the Vienna talks and the future prospects of the European disarmament process and Soviet-Canadian relations at military level were discussed. It was deemed expedient to study the question of concluding a bilateral agreement on preventing dangerous military activity. Experts from both countries

were instructed to prepare relevant proposals on the given questions in order to start work on the agreements in the immediate future, which will make it possible to increase the security of the personnel and military hardware of both countries, and to further improve Soviet-Canadian relations in the military sphere. The conversation was held in a warm amicable atmosphere. [passage omitted]

TASS Summarizes Visit

LD1008112190 Moscow TASS in English 1053 GMT 10 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondent Yuriy Rublevskiy]

[Text] Leningrad August 10 (TASS)—General John de Chasterlain, chief of the General Staff of the Canadian defence, today concluded his official visit to the Soviet Union. He arrived in Moscow on 6 August at the invitation of General Mikhail Moiseyev, chief of the General Staff of the USSR Armed Forces and first deputy defence minister of the USSR.

During his stay in the Soviet Union, General de Chasterlain met Soviet military commanders and visited a number of military schools and garrisons. He watched demonstrations by paratroopers and marines. At the Severomorsk naval base, Murmansk Region, he inspected the Marshal Ustinov missile cruiser, an up-to-date nuclear submarine and a submarine from the Second World War that is now a museum.

The Canadian guest spent the last two days of his stay in Leningrad. He paid a visit to Lieutenant General Viktor Samsonov, commander of the forces of the Leningrad Military District. De Chasterlain went sight-seeing in Leningrad and its suburbs.

De Chasterlain told TASS that the visit was extremely useful. He said that he and Moiseyev discussed contacts between the two countries in the military area and measures for confidence building between the Armed Forces.

De Chasterlain flew home today. He was seen off at Pulkovo Airport by first deputy chief of hte General Staff of the Soviet Armed Forces, Colonel-General Bronislav Omelichev and commander of the forces of Leningrad Military District, Lieutenant-General Smsonov.

Northeast Asia

Gorbachev, Ryzhkov Greet DPRK Leaders

Honor Korean Liberation

LD1408141390 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1300 GMT 14 Aug 90

[Text] Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov have warmly greeted the leaders of the DPRK on the 45th anniversary of the liberation of Korea from Japanese colonial domination.

Their telegrams express wishes to the workers of People's Korea for success in socialist construction, in the social and economic development of the country, and in the peaceful unification of the motherland.

Gorbachev Telegram Viewed

LD1408152390 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1430 GMT 14 Aug 90

[Text] Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev has sent cordial greetings to Comrade Kim Il-song, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Korean Workers' Party and president of the DPRK, and to all the workers of the DPRK on the occasion of the 45th anniversary of the liberation of Korea from Japanese colonial domination.

The telegram notes that the defeat of the Kwantung group of Japanese occupiers by the Soviet Army helped Korea gain its freedom and independence. Traditions of friendly relations, interaction, and cooperation have grown up between the USSR and the DPRK, which serve peace and security on the Korean peninsula and the improvement of the situation in the Asia-Pacific region.

Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov sent his warm greetings to Comrade Yon Hyon-muk, premier of the Administrative Council of the DPRK.

Soviet Fleet Visits DPRK on Anniversary

SK1508052590 Moscow International Service in Korean 1330 GMT 13 Aug 90

[Text] A detachment of the Soviet Pacific Red Flag Fleet is now staying in the DPRK for an official visit.

This unit is composed of the large ASW [antisubmarine warfare] ship "Marshal Shaposhnikov" and the patrol escort "Poryvistyy." Vice Admiral A.G. Oleynik, first deputy commander of the Pacific Fleet, is leading the unit.

In a meeting with a TASS reporter some time ago in Vladivostok, he said as follows: Our visit to the DPRK will be paid on the occasion of the 45th anniversary of Korea's liberation from the Japanese colony.

We will visit Wonsan and the capital of the republic. Our activities during the visit to Korea will include meeting with the Korean naval forces and with representatives of Korea-Soviet Union Friendship Society.

We will also hold soccer and volleyball games with soldiers of the Korean Navy and see the performances by members of the art troupes of the two countries.

A fleet of the DPRK Navy will arrive in Vladivostok on 24 August while on a (?voyage)

ROK President Discusses Prospect of Ties

LD1408165190 Moscow TASS in English 1642 GMT 14 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondent Aleksandr Kopnov]

[Text] Tokyo August 14 TASS—The improvement of Soviet-South Korean ties will help ensure peace on the Korean peninsula and north-south re-unification," President No Tae-u of South Korea said in an interview with the KOREA HERALD newspaper today.

"Prospects for developing relations with the USSR are brilliant. We have good expertise in industrial development, which may prove useful to the Soviet Union in implementing economic reforms. The USSR is well aware of our potentialities and would like to utilise them," No said.

"I think that Soviet-South Korean ties will be fully normalised over the next five years and two-way trade will be based on a solid foundation. According to our estimates, trade turnover between the two countries will reach 10,000 million U.S. dollars," No said.

On the situation on the Korean peninsula, No favoured concluding a North-South arms reduction agreement based on principles of mutual political and military confidence. "As to the presence of U.S. troops in South Korea, it is necessary, first and foremost, that factors which brought them here be abolished. U.S. troops can be pulled out any time as soon as the threat of the use of armed force is eliminated," No said.

Dwelling on the present state of relations with Democratic Korea, No rejected the conditions for launching large-scale inter-Korean exchanges, which were set by the North Korean side. The demand that the concrete fortifications on the joint border be dismantled and the purely domestic law on national security be revised cannot be recognised as fair, No stressed.

"Nevertheless, South Korea should carry on efforts to develop contacts and cooperation with democratic Korea to be ultimately capped with the conclusion of a treaty on non-aggression and arms reduction," No said.

Asked by the newspaper to comment on the administration's stance on Iraq's invasion of Kuwait, No recalled that South Korea supported the U.N. Security Council resolution on sanctions against Iraq.

But he rejected the possibility of the involvement of South Korean Armed Forces in military actions against Iraq. "We face a far more important task today to ensure peace and security on the Korean peninsula," No stressed.

Gorbachev Plans To Visit Japan Next Year

OW1408150690 Tokyo KYODO in English 1454 GMT 14 Aug 90

[Text] Moscow, Aug. 14 KYODO—Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev will likely visit Japan early next April, Soviet diplomatic sources said Tuesday.

Gorbachev indicated in talks with Soka Gakkai Honorary President Daisaku Ikeda in late July that he wants to visit Japan early next spring, but Tuesday was the first time anything concrete was disclosed about the Soviet president's travel plans.

Soviet authorities are currently making arrangements for the April trip, the sources said.

The Soviet Union will propose measures to build mutual trust between Moscow and Tokyo during the visit of Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze on September 5, they said.

The Soviets will propose an exchange of military personnel and visits by naval vessels from each nation to the other's ports, they said.

Rather than going to Kyoto and western Japan as do most visiting dignitaries, Gorbachev is considering visiting Niigata, which has been an important port of call for Soviet groups and delegations, they added.

Japanese Emperor Receives Departing Envoy

LD1408134290 Moscow TASS in English 130 GMT 14 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondents Valeriy Agakkov and Alexander Kopnov]

[Text] Tokyo August 14 TASS—Soviet Ambassador to Japan Nikolay Solovyev was today received by Emperor Akihito of Japan.

During the meeting, the emperor called for the comprehensive development of humanitarian and cultural ties between Japan and the Soviet Union in the interests of building understanding and trust between the peoples of the two neighbouring countries.

On the same day, Solovyev met Prime Minister Toshiki Kaifu. The prime minister confirmed Japan's support for Soviet perestroika, and called for the development of Japanese-Soviet relations, taking into account the current rapid changes in the world.

The meetings were held in connection with the Soviet ambassador's forthcoming departure for home.

Japanese Fund To Help Chernobyl Victims

LD1408174990 Moscow TASS in English 1737 GMT 14 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondent Sergey Skripnikov]

[Text] Moscow August 14 TASS—All the world sympathised with the victims of the Chernobyl nuclear disaster, but the Japanese fund chaired by Reichi Sasakawa was the first to suggest a programme of wide-scale and qualified medical aid to residents of the disaster area, said Galina Sukhoruchenkova, a Soviet Central Trade Union Council secretary.

She spoke today at a news conference on the results of a visit to the Soviet Union by heads of the Sasakawa Fund

and prominent Japanese physicians. The delegation was invited by the Soviet Central Trade Union Council.

From August 8-14 the delegation includes world-class specialists in the study of radiation's effect on the human organism, such as Professor Nagataki Shigenobu from the medical school of the Nagasaki University, chairmen of the Radiation Influence Research Fund Shigematsu Itsuzo and Kumatori Toshiyuki and Social Medicine Institute Professor Kiikuni Kenzo.

The delegation visited regions in Belorussia and the Ukraine, hit by the disaster, the fourth block of the Chernobyl nuclear plant, and met residents of the three largest Soviet republics.

Itsuzo said all they saw will be thoroughly studied in Japan in order to introduce final alterations in the Sasakawa Fund's aid programme. Its current variant envisages four main directions of help: supplying medical equipment to the worst-hit regions, supplying mobile laboratories to examine people in remote regions, providing medicines and chemical reagents necessary for treatment and research and sending to the Soviet Union specialists who have benefited from the 40-year experience of treating victims of the atomic bomb attacks on Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

The fund's annual aid will total one billion yen and will last for five years. In September, Professor Shigenobu will begin treating children for thyroid gland disease caused by radiation.

"It is hard to overestimate the visit" Sukhoruchenkova said. "Medical stars whom it was difficult to gather together even in Tokyo, arrived in Moscow to discuss ways to help Soviet people."

Near East & South Asia

Soviets Seek UN Security Council Role in Gulf

'Collective Efforts' Needed

LD1408114790 Moscow TASS in English 1051 GMT 14 Aug 90

[By TASS military news analyst Vladimir Chernyshev]

[Text] Moscow August 14 TASS—The developments of the recent days—Iraq's annexation of Kuwait and worldwide reactions to the act—have brought into focus the long-pressing question—to give a boost to the work of the Military Staff Committee of the United Nations Security Council.

The Soviet Union expressed its readiness for immediate consultations within the framework of the committee which, in accordance with the U.N. Charter, may perform very important functions.

It must be recalled that the functions as contemplated by the U.N. founding countries, are as follows: to advise and assist the Security Council's military requirements for the maintenance of international peace and security, to determine the Security Council's requirements for the necessary size and degree of combat readiness of military contingents placed at the Security Council's disposal, and to plan the use of these contingents and exercise strategic direction of any such forces.

All these provisions were sealed in the U.N. Charter way back in 1945 but unfortunately over the past decades there has been no unanimity among the five permanent members of the Security Council over the implementation of these provisions.

The cold war was the main source of international tension. During the war in Korea, the functions of the direction of Armed Forces placed at the disposal of the United Nations by some member-states were transferred, as a result of U.S. political maneuvers, directly to the General Assembly. The Military Staff Committee thereby turned into a still-born agency.

In the 1970s I for several years represented the Soviet Armed Forces at the committee. Committee sessions were held regularly but they were a pure formality. The committee did not discuss or decide on any problems.

Now that the cold war ended, the situation has radically changed. The Soviet Union's novel approach to the United Nations is to fully restore to it the role of the instrument for the maintenance of peace and the strengthening of strategic stability, as is inherent in the U.N. Charter.

The Soviet Union has reconsidered its attitude towards many U.N. agencies, including the Military Staff Committee. Undoubtedly, conditions are quite ripe to add substance to its functioning.

A solution to problems that have arisen in the Persian Gulf area could be the first practical step in this respect. Collective efforts and full use of U.N. mechanisms are the surest and the most reasonable way to act in such conflict situations.

According to the U.N. Charter, the Security Council, in order to maintain and restore international peace and security, is authorised to use not only political means but also take 'enforcement' measures. These include severance of communications, and of economic and diplomatic relations and, if required, action by air, land and sea forces.

In the current complex situation in the Middle East, it would be apparently quite useful to use the potential of the United Nations, the Security Council and its Military Staff Committee, and not just the efforts of the United States alone with the involvement of other countries in an attempt "to bring the aggressor to reason".

Role Urged for UN Panel

LD1508080990 Moscow TASS in English 0754 GMT 15 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondent Mikhail Kochetkov]

[Text] United Nations August 15 TASS—The Soviet Union proposed involving the U.N. Security Council Military Staff Committee in settling the current Gulf crisis, Valentin Lozinskiy, acting Soviet ambassador to the United Nations, said here on Tuesday.

Replying to reporters, he stressed that the committee could play a positive role in implementing the U.N. Security Council resolution on sanctions against Iraq.

Asked about a U.S. proposal to place warships from the United States and other countries under the U.N. flag, he said that all possible versions can be discussed at the United Nations, including the question of multinational naval forces.

"There is no haste in this matter. Nevertheless, we should try to normalise the situation as soon as possible and fulfill the relevant Security Council resolutions," Lozinskiy noted.

The Security Council has not yet discussed joint military actions. The Council should concentrate on the implementation of the decision on sanctions against Iraq.

"We do not think that the use of force now is an appropriate instrument to implement sanctions," Lozinskiy said.

Soviets Deny Advisers Aiding Iraqi President

LD1408123290 Moscow World Service in English 1110 GMT 14 Aug 90

[By Radio Moscow military commentator Captain Aleksandr Yakovlev, in Russian with superimposed English translation]

[Text] The Western press claims that in Iraq Soviet advisers are giving aid to President Saddam Husayn and his armed forces. There are allegations that the Soviet naval command is considering the possibility of joint actions with foreign fleets. Radio Moscow's military commentator, Captain Aleksandr Yakovlev, comments:

[Yakovlev] I must say outright that all these allegations are unfounded. I have been told at the Soviet Ministry of Defense that our military advisers in Iraq give aid neither to the president nor to his armed forces. As for the Soviet Navy, at the moment there isn't a single Soviet ship in the Persian Gulf. The Soviet military command has not considered the possibility of building up its naval forces or using them jointly with Western countries.

I must add that Soviet military advisers in Iraq have taken no part in devising concrete military plans. They helped train Iraqi military personnel and gave them aid in learning how to handle modern defense weapons and combat equipment, such as fighter planes, anti-aircraft rocket installations, radar stations, and patrol boats.

As for the shipments of such equipment and weaponry to Iraq, the Soviet Union stopped them as soon as the Iraqi troops had invaded Kuwait. Now it is considering the issue of evacuating Soviet military advisers and experts from Iraq. A small group of advisers, who will remain in Iraq for the time being, will work largely at repair facilities, educational institutions, and construction sites.

The participation of Soviet warships in a naval blockade of the Persian Gulf has not been considered so far. Indeed the United States Navy, together with the naval forces of some other countries, has actually blocked Iraqi ports and oil terminals. Let's hope that steps taken by the United States will not lead to an escalation of the armed conflict, that Washington will refrain from overstepping the bounds of common sense.

PRAVDA Reviews Goals of U.S. Interdiction

PM1408200990 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Aug 90 First Edition p 5

[Article by correspondent V. Gan under the general heading: "Persian Gulf: The Specter of War"]

[Text] Washington—The Bush administration has declared unequivocally that the blockade, which is being hastily organized, is aimed not just at blocking the channels via which Iraqi oil reaches the international markets. At this very moment the Pentagon's "umbrella" above the region virtually ensures U.S. control over all deliveries to and from Iraq. Any vessel with goods for Iraq will find it virtually impossible to slip through the net cast by the United States. U.S. patrol vessels have been ordered to intercept and search vessels which may be fired on should they refuse to comply. It is believed, however, that the threat of the use of force will be sufficient.

At the same time, the anti-Iraq sanctions are also hitting U.S. interests. Sources in the administration report that the process of the elaboration of the federal budget is in a state of chaos. As one Pentagon general put it—"there is no need even to look for the peace dividend, it has gone to Saudi Arabia." As is generally known, the term "peace dividend" is used to describe the funds which the Congress was planning to save on military expenditure as a result of the thaw in the international climate and the United States' entry into a new era of relations with the Soviet Union.

Indian Minister Arrives To Discuss Gulf Crisis

Shevardnadze, Gujral Meet

LD1408133290 Moscow TASS in English 1224 GMT 14 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondent Yevgeniy Aleksandrov]

[Text] Moscow August 14 TASS—Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze today met his Indian counterpart Kumar Gujral, who arrived in the Soviet Union today on a brief working visit.

TASS was told at the Soviet Foreign Ministry that the two men were likely to discuss the crisis in the Gulf and issues of Mutual interest.

Possible Solutions Evaluated

LD1408182390 Moscow TASS in English 1814 GMT 14 Aug 90

[Text] Moscow August 14 TASS—Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze met his Indian counterpart Inder Kumar Gujral in Moscow today to discuss the Persian Gulf crisis.

The two pointed to a dangerous escalation in the area and a massive foreign build-up, prompted by the use of force by one state against another.

The sides involved in the conflict are now considering a military solution to the issue, the two leaders warned. Any reckless or unconsidered step is fraught with dangerous consequences for countries in the region, international peace and security, they said.

The two said the exchange of views on the issue between the Soviet Union and India was vital for the coordination of efforts by nations interested in an early and peaceful settlement of the crisis.

The Soviet Union and India support the restoration of the situation as it was before the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait and want the sides to start a political dialogue. Collective efforts are especially important in this situation, the two said.

The international community should fully use the United Nations mechanism and the potential of the Security Council, they said.

The Soviet Union and India praised steps by Arab countries to defuse the conflict, saying that a concreted Arab effort could bring about an early normalisation of the situation in the region.

The Soviet Union and India are convinced that joint efforts by all peace-loving countries can prevent the Gulf crisis from escalating into a major armed conflict. The return to compliance with accepted norms and principles of international laws and the United Nations Charter is a reliable guarantee against this, they said.

The ministers expressed alarm over the fate of citizens from the Soviet Union, India and other countries in the area and agreed to seek an optimum solution to the problem in close contact with the Iraqi authorities and in line with the principles of humanism and respect of interests of every person regardless of his national identity.

The two also discussed the situation in southern Asia.

The Indian foreign minister informed Shevardnadze about talks between India and Pakistan in New Delhi on measures to normalise bilateral relations.

The recent reshuffle in the Pakistani leadership is an internal affair of this country, the sides agreed. They hoped that this will not harm the process of democratisation in Pakistan.

The two called for a peaceful settlement between India and Pakistan on the basis of goodwill and mutual interests. India and Pakistan should settle the Kashmir problem directly, on the basis of the Simla agreement, excluding the use of force, and without any outside interference, the two ministers said.

Shevardnadze and Inder Kumar Gujral discussed an Afghan settlement, saying that some progress has been made on the issue, including during Irkutsk talks between Shevardnadze and U.S. Secretary of State James Baker.

An inter-Afghan dialogue and free democratic elections under the aegis of the United Nations and with its participation are crucial to an Afghan settlement, the two said.

India will continue efforts to promote an Afghan settlement, Gujral said. The talks showed a high level of understanding between India and the Soviet Union on key issues and their adherence to promoting international peace, stability and security.

The meeting was held in a warm, friendly atmosphere, typical of Soviet-Indian relations.

Shevardnadze Comments on Talks

LD1408161190 Moscow TASS in English 1541 GMT 14 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondent Yevgeniy Aleksandrov]

[Text] Moscow August 14 TASS—"At the Soviet-Indian talks the sides focused on the current developments in the Gulf," Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze told TASS upon the completion of his meeting with his Indian counterpart Kumar Gujral. Gujral arrived in the Soviet Union on a brief working visit this morning.

Speaking about the results of the talk, Shevardnadze noted that "the exchange of views was useful for both sides. We agreed that our contacts on this problem will be of a permanent nature in future".

"Both Soviet and Indian leadership are equally interested in the early settlement of this situation, which endangers world peace. It is in the interests not only of the USSR but also of all countries in the world not to allow a further escalation of the conflict and restore peace and tranquility in the region as soon as possible," Shevardnadze emphasised.

Ministers Call For 'Dialogue'

BK1508090790 Delhi Domestic Service in English 0830 GMT 15 Aug 90

[Excerpts] The external affairs minister, Mr. I.K. Gujral, now in Moscow, will be flying to Washington this evening, and on his way back will halt in Baghdad in an effort to bring about a peaceful solution to the current crisis in the Gulf. [passage omitted]

Mr. Gujral and his Soviet counterpart, Mr. Shevardnadze, have called for initiation of a political dialogue between Kuwait and Iraq and restoration of the situation prior to the Iraqi invasion. After talks in Moscow, the two ministers said that the international community should fully use the United Nations mechanism to defuse the crisis.

Gujral Confers With Voronin

LD1508093190 Moscow TASS in English 0907 GMT 15 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondent Yevgeniy Aleksandrov]

[Text] Moscow August 15 TASS—Conversation started early today between Soviet First Deputy Prime Minister Lev Voronin and Indian Minister of External Affairs Kumar Gujral, now on a brief working visit in the Soviet Union. The two sides are discussing issues of mutual interest.

On Tuesday Gujral met his Soviet counterpart Eduard Shevardnadze to discuss the crisis in the Persian Gulf.

"Both Soviet and Indian leaders are equally interested in the earliest settlement of this situation, dangerous for the world. It is in the interests of the Soviet Union and the entire world to prevent the conflict from spreading and to restore peace and tranquillity in the region as soon as possible," Shevardnadze told TASS at the end of the meeting.

Concludes Visit 15 Aug

LD1508103490 Moscow TASS in English 1003 GMT 15 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondent Yevgeniy Aleksandrov]

[Text] Moscow August 15 TASS—Indian Minister of External Affairs Kumar Gujral left Moscow today upon completing a brief working visit to the Soviet Union.

During his stay Gujral met First Deputy Prime Minister Lev Voronin and Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze for talks that focused on issues of mutual interest and the crisis in the Persian Gulf.

France To Implement UN Embargo Against Iraq

LD1408144190 Moscow TASS in English 1436 GMT 14 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondent Aleksandr Krivykh]

[Text] Paris August 14 TASS—France has confirmed its "solidarity" with other members of the U.N. Security Council and the international community, a French Foreign Ministry spokesman said today.

Commenting on his country's position on the Gulf crisis, he said Paris intended to implement the U.N. decision to introduce an embargo against Iraq. He said France continued consultations within the framework of the Security Council, aimed to discuss possible measures to ensure the efficiency of the move.

Belonogov Discusses Gulf With Various Envoys

PM1508082790 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Aug 90 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Meetings and Consultations"]

[Text] USSR Deputy Foreign Minister A.M. Belonogov received Friday [10 August] the ambassadors to the USSR and charges d'affaires ad interim of Angola, Afghanistan, Laos, Vietnam, Cambodia, DPRK, Mongolia, and Ethiopia. In the course of their conversation he briefed them on the steps which are being taken by the Soviet Union in the interests of defusing tension in the Persian Gulf zone.

On the same day A.M. Belonogov met with J.R. Balaguer, Cuba's ambassador to the USSR. During their meeting attention was focused on the next steps of the UN Security Council, whose members include the USSR and Cuba, toward diverting a military conflict in the Gulf zone into the channel of a political settlement which is so badly needed in order to achieve peace in this explosive area.

On the same day A.M. Belonogov received N. Heirani-Nobari, ambassador fo the Islamic Republic of Iran to the USSR, at the latter's request. During their conversation they discussed problems connected with the situation which has taken shape in the Persian Gulf area. Both sides expressed concern at the dangerous development of this situation. Certain questions of bilateral Soviet-Iranian relations were also touched upon.

Receives French Envoy 11 Aug

PM1408155390 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 13 Aug 90 Morning Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Various Aspects of Dangerous Crisis Discussed"]

[Text] On 11 August USSR Deputy Foreign Minister A.M. Belonogov received French Ambassador J.-M. Merillon at the latter's request. Various aspects of the dangerous crisis which began with the Iraqi troop invasion of Kuwait were discussed. Ways to resolve the conflict situation that has arisen, above all by utilizing the potential of the United Nations, were examined.

Soviet Evacuees Leave Jordan, Head to Moscow

PM1408142690 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 Aug 90 Morning Edition p 1

[TASS report: "Evacuation Has Started"]

[Text] Amman, 14 Aug—The first group of Soviet citizens from Iraq, consisting of 32 people, has left the Jordanian capital for Moscow by air. According to reports from Baghdad, the first regular group of Soviet evacuees, consisting of 200 people, mainly women and children, is expected in the near future.

Kuwaiti Journalist Interviewed on Persian Gulf

PM1408132290 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 14 Aug 90 Second Edition p 3

[Telephone interview with Dr. Muhammad al-Rumayhi, chief editor of AL-'ARABI magazine and AL-QABAS INTERNATIONAL newspaper, by correspondent A. Zhukov; date of interview not given; published under the rubric "Iraq-Kuwait": "Call to London"—first paragraph is an editorial introduction]

[Text] SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA correspondent A. Zhukov has made a telephone request to Dr. Muhammed al-Rumayhi, one of the most influential Kuwaiti journalists and chief editor of AL-'ARABI magazine and AL-QABAS INTERNATIONAL newspaper, to answer a number of questions.

[Zhukov] What, in your view, are the reasons for the current deterioration in the situation in the Persian Gulf?

[Al-Rumayhi] Iraq has long harbored plans to recreate the Babylonian Empire at the expense of its neighbors. The first "trial of strength" was the war with Iran. Its results are well known.

[Zhukov] What is the explanation for the lack of a united Arab position regarding Iraqi expansionism?

[Al-Rumayhi] First, the existence of historical conflicts between a number of Arab regimes. Second, the cynical desire of certain scheming politicians to solve their problems by making advances to Iraq, which is quite strong militarily and financially. Third, simple fear of Iraq's military might and the desire to stick one's head deep in the sand and sit it out there.

[Zhukov] According to our information, anti-Iraqi resistance is being organized in Kuwait. Do you have more specific information?

[Al-Rumayhi] A supreme council for organizing the resistance has been set up. It is coordinating both military actions against the occupying forces and a very wide campaign of civil disobedience. Here the fact that a large part of the Kuwaiti Armed Forces were withdrawn intact across the Kuwaiti border should not be forgotten either. This factor is especially important as discontent with the aggression is also brewing in the heart of the Iraqi Army itself. A considerable number of soldiers have deserted and yesterday three Iraqi tanks and their crews made their way across the Saudi Arabian border and surrendered.

Commentaries Review, Assess Persian Gulf Crisis

Conflict 'Becoming Protracted'

LD1408191490 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 14 Aug 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer Igor Kudrin] It would seem that the conflict in the Persian Gulf is becoming protracted. I will put this question to my colleague, Farid Seyful-Mulyukov: How do you view the present situation?

[Seyful-Mulyukov] Rather pessimistically, and I believe there are serious grounds for this. The Iraqi invasion of Kuwait destabilized the whole situation in the Near East, tightened the knots of old conflicts and drew a new hot line of confrontation between the United States and Iraq and its Arab neighbors. In the Persian Gulf region on one side of the barricades have appeared the U.S.-NATO troops and the inter-Arab forces, and on the other the Iraqi Army which has become battle-hardened. This is the first time there has been such an arrangement of forces in the modern history of the Near East. A further escalation of the conflict could lead to a conflagration throughout this region.

[Kudrin] King Husayn of Jordan has said that the recent conference in Cairo gives the Arabs their last chance to settle their differences. Will this chance be taken?

[Seyful-Mulyukov] To paraphrase our great classical scholar, I would put it this way: Everything has become confused in the Arab home; yesterday's friends and partners have become enemies, and vice versa. The Kuwaiti Anschluss creates a dangerous precedent, for tomorrow another dictator may wish to swallow up his neighbor. The Near East map has more than once been redrawn at the expense of the weak and defenseless. Such a fate has befallen the Palestinians, Lebanon, and now Kuwait has become a sacrifice. And certain participants in this Arabic drama are becoming euphoric to no purpose if they believe that Saddam Husayn will help them to free the Israeli-occupied territories. It was not for this reason that he invaded Kuwait.

The Arab world is capable of turning the development of events in another direction, and it is important to the Arabs themselves that they take advantage of this last chance.

[Kudrin] And yet, what can restore peace and stability to this region?

[Seyful-Mulyukov] I would like to make two points here. First, counting on force, from whatever direction, can

only widen the conflict and involve other states. Therefore it is necessary to seek a political solution on a collective basis to the crisis, excluding the annexation of Kuwait and the outbreak of a big war in the Near East. Lastly, it is time to deliver this region from the arms race, which demands that our country, too, rethinks its military cooperation with the Near East states.

U.S. Influence Safeguarded

PM1408162590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 Aug 90 Morning Edition p 4

["Political Observer's Opinion" by Stanislav Kondrashov: "Together Against the Aggressor. What Then?"]

[Text] The USSR and the United States have come together in opposing the Iraqi annexation of Kuwait and this increases the chances that the Saddam Husayn regime, obeying the instinct of self-preservation, will submit to the world community's will and release its, alas, lifeless victim from its armored embrace. But this does not signify "symmetry" in the positions adopted by the two nuclear powers vis-a-vis the new Near East crisis.

Only within a United Nations framework, only under UN auspices—this is the Soviet approach to economic sanctions and to the idea of creating multinational forces to curb Iraq. It has not met with Washington's approval. The Americans used the potential of the Security Council for introducing sanctions, but, as for the rest, they are insisting on a free hand, not bound by the UN mandate. They have already set up their "Desert Shield" with the consent of Saudi Arabia. The presence, in the vicinity, of Egyptian, Syrian, and Moroccan military subunits, as it were implements the idea of mutinational resistance, but in a form that does not inhibit Washington. Britain is sending soldiers, but more as a member of NATO than of the United Nations. The projected naval blockade of Iraq in the Persian Gulf is looking increasingly like a U.S.-NATO operation. The Soviet naval presence is minimal—and separate. As for deterring the agressor by force of arms, we are, as it were, on the sidelines: not so close to the United States and NATO as to be part of their operation, and not so far away as to be publicly opposed to it. "Together Against The Aggressor"—that was the headline I used last Monday (IZVESTIYA No 219). The collaboration is still there, but it is of a limited nature. What then? Then there are the different stances, which one has to look at closely.

The United States wants to protect its strategic ally and main oil supplier—Saudi Arabia—from a possible attack. U.S. policy combines the principle of opposition to aggression and a strong, regional (also global) practical interest. By transferring troops, possibly as many as 250,000, to the region, Washington is thinking not only and not so much about the principle of punishing aggression, as about preserving and strengthening its influence in the Near East. Every cloud has a silver lining. Particularly as Husayn already appears to be backtracking.

Of the three states directly involved in the conflict—Iraq, Kuwait, and Saudi Arabia—the Soviet Union's longest standing and strongest relations, economically and politically, were with the aggressor, with Iraq. The aggression is condemned in official Soviet statements, but Iraq is still called a friendly country. Of course, it cannot be true friendship with a brutal dictator and even with a people living under a dictatorial regime, because such a people cannot freely express its will and its genuine attitude toward another people. But they were, so to speak, the props of friendship, which were commonly found in the old Soviet policy; there was rather extensive economic cooperation, and, above all, massive supplies of Soviet weapons to Iraq over many years. Since it was earning a considerable amount of foreign currency (of the order of $12-13 billion in the past 10 years—according to the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute), Moscow turned a blind eye to the way the unpredictable, megalomaniac regime of personal power was flexing its muscles. The weapon supplies were interrupted only twice: in 1980-1982, when Iraq attacked Iran and waged war on its territory, and now, since the start of August 1990, when Iraq's gigantic military machine swallowed up Kuwait, without gagging.

When policy is based on such unscrupulous pragmatism there are bound to be lamentable political and practical results eventually. If the sanctions introduced against Iraq by the Security Council are long-lasting the Soviet Union will lose billions. On the other hand, a $10 per barrel leap in oil prices that could well occur could provide us, according to some estimates, with at least $5 billion of extra revenue per year. Once again, every cloud has a silver lining? It must be said that in this case the silver lining will not be of Moscow's making, because the main element determining the Soviet position is the principle of opposing aggression and punishing the aggressor, even if in so doing one punishes oneself for one's own past behavior.

Let us sum up the situation. By planting its troops in the desert and building up a naval armada nearby, Washington is supporting Saudi Arabia, its "friend" and ally, against its old enemy—Iraq. Moscow, on the other hand, is opposing its "friend" in favor of a pro-American monarchy, thus sanctioning American actions. The USSR Foreign Ministry statement contains the following words: "We would like to preserve this friendship." These words are due to concern for the safety of the Soviet citizens who remain in Iraq. Otherwise the preservation of friendship with such a regime would be described as appeasement of an aggressor. We can do without that kind of friendship.

Our relations with Saddam Husayn have a long history which began in 1956 with Jamal 'Abd-al-Nasir and the first sale of Soviet weapons—via Czechoslovakia—to an Arab country, Egypt. For the national liberation movements which were destroying the colonial empires of Britain and France the support which the Soviet Union was giving in various ways, including arms deliveries, was of huge significance as a historic alternative. At that

time, in its rivalry with the capitalist world, the Soviet Union was seeking allies among the developing states, proclaiming itself as an example of a better and more democratic society, and enticing the "Third World" onto a noncapitalist, socialist path. You cannot retell a long history in a couple of words, but it is obvious now that our example did not carry weight either in East Europe or, for example, in the Arab world for the chief reason that it had not given us ourselves, the Soviet people, a free and prosperous life. The big Soviet aid to states in the east and the south cannot be canceled out. Something else also cannot fail to be seen: How many times this aid helped to build on different soil the same thing as in our country—antidemocratic, authoritarian systems. How many dictators we helped to become firmly established in power and how much money we threw to the wind because we were not accountable to our own people.

Now one more choice has been made. By sacrificing relations with another dictatorship the Soviet Union once again confirms its adherence to the new path—the abandonment of confrontation with the West, which distorted priorities in the foreign and domestic policies of the Soviet leadership and was one of the deep-seated causes of our present historical crisis. The new relations of cooperation and interaction, particularly with the United States, are now seen as one of the chief levers capable of lifting us out of the crisis. The strategic advantage in this area (both political and practical) will more than make up for the loss of friendship with Saddam Husayn.

In practical diplomacy, however, it would be naive to rely only on the miraculous force of the general principles of the new thinking and also to exaggerate their universality. Even the common experience of the nuclear age, which you might think unites everyone, has been assimilated in very different concentrations by the peoples of different parts of the world. For us it all boiled down to the nuclear threat, which has receded in recent years. But in the Arabian sands, washed not only by petrodollars but also by blood, they have their own truths derived from their own experience of relations with the United States and also with Israel. And their own obtrusive nightmares loom up in the burning heat haze. Sometimes they are mirages, but not only mirages.

At the meeting of Arab leaders in Cairo the majority condemned Iraq. But, as always, there was no unity. Of the 20, only 12 voiced condemnation, and so far just three countries are sending troops to Saudi Arabia: Egypt as leader of the moderate wing, Syria because of Al-Asad's hostility toward Husayn, and Morocco as a token of Hassan II's monarchist solidarity with King Fahd. But here is the rub: Volunteers from among the Arab masses are straining to help Iraq and its leader. The Arab public consciousness does not see the U.S. landing forces as doves of peace. It is suspicious of armed external interference in what it considers an inter-Arab dispute.

These sentiments work in favor of Arab dictators, but they represent an important factor which cannot be disregarded. They are based not only on Islamic fanaticism but also on rich experience, which we, too, have before our eyes: America wants to dominate a region where there is so much oil, where Israeli interests (with regard to the powerful influence of the Israeli lobby in American life) are still more important to it than Saudi interests, and which lies strategically close to the Soviet Union. What has changed in these principles of U.S. policy? It still relies on force and on assurances that force will be used in the interests of peace and stability. There are no grounds for doubting the sincerity of the assurances, but Washington reserves the right to determine what the interests of peace and stability are. Despite the level of cooperation reached between the United States and the USSR, the policies of the two powers are not and cannot be identical.

To argue in the former "cold war" terms, the new crisis has posed more of a threat to the West but has shown the relative weakness of our positions. The United States acts as the leader of the NATO bloc rallied behind it. The Warsaw Pact Organization is in no way involved in the situation which has come about, and the Soviet Union cannot rely even on its formal support. The practical filling out of contacts with Arab leaders is a higher priority for Washington, as evidenced by the present symbolic proximity of U.S. troops and the rudiments of an inter-Arab force on Saudi territory. The Arabs have not responded to Moscow's call to counter aggression only within the UN framework. This attests once again to their sober regard for whose side has the real advantage in strength. I will also remind you of the general background, which is of decisive significance in this specific situation—the multifaceted internal crisis in the Soviet Union. It makes us lie down on the bottom, so to speak, conforming to our modest available potential.

What now? In the Near East, too, we are losing our pretensions as a superpower which automatically, with or without cause, opposes its rival. Cutting our coat according to our cloth, here, too, we are taking our leave of costly ambitions and seeking a more modest place. But even this is considerable, and it is the place of a world power [derzhava]. With the Soviet Union there remains a geostrategic presence in this region, as well as the real weight it carries, augmented by a real policy. It must be placed cleverly and skillfully each time in the pan of the scales which would tip the balance toward peace, moderation, and the sides' understanding in all Near East conflicts, including the hitherto most insoluble one—the Arab-Israeli conflict.

Clash Possible 'Any Moment'

LD1508111190 Moscow TASS in English 1016 GMT 15 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondent Vladimir Yefremov]

[Text] Cairo August 15 TASS—The situation in the Persian Gulf area deteriorated considerably on Tuesday and an armed clash may break out any moment, the Egyptian press reports today. According to information

from the news agency MENA, British and U.S. naval ships started inspecting merchant ships in the Gulf to intercept cargoes bound for Iraqi ports.

Iraqi representatives threaten to use force to break the blockade. Iraqi naval ships were sighted in international waters of the Gulf. There are reports that the ships mined the sea lanes between Qatar and Bahrain.

Foreign troops are arriving in Saudi Arabia. U.S. transport aircraft, carrying U.S. troops and heavy military equipment, are landing every ten minutes at Dhahran Air Base, MENA reports.

More than 10,000 U.S. paratroopers have already been deployed in the area of the Saudi-Kuwaiti border and put on alert. Another group of Egyptian forces last night left Cairo for Saudi Arabia. They will join Arab forces in Saudi Arabia, along with Moroccan and Syrian units that began to arrive in Saudi Arabia last night.

Arab forces will be deployed inside Saudi Arabia to protect Islamic shrines—Mecca and Medina—against possible aggression. Some 5,000 Pakistani servicemen are expected in Saudi Arabia.

According to reports by those who returned from Kuwait, occupation troops launched mass terror against Kuwaitis and foreigners in Kuwait. The curfew continues. There were many cases of violence against civilians, including killings and marauding.

Monte Carlo Radio reports that some Iraqi soldiers are clearly disturbed by their aggression against an Arab country, and more soldiers have deserted their posts. On Tuesday 12 Iraqi soldiers driving tanks fled to Saudi Arabia.

Clandestine groups of Kuwaiti resistance in the capital and commando units operating in the area of the deployment of Iraqi troops along the Saudi border made several attacks on Iraqi positions on Tuesday. There are Iraqi casualties.

Egyptian President Husni Mubarak continues attempts to settle the crisis, although, due to Saddam Husayn's recalcitrance, the chances of this are slim, Egyptian Minister of State Foreign Affairs Butrus Ghali said on Tuesday.

The Egyptian president met Kuwaiti Minister of State for Cabinet Affairs Al-'Awadi, who brought a message from the amir of Kuwait on Tuesday. The president also met the personal envoy of the Sultan of Oman and had telephone conversations with leaders of other Arab countries.

Egyptian Minister of State Butrus Ghali met with ambassadors of African countries in Cairo and emphasised the need for joint action by the entire world community—including African countries—to curb the Iraqi aggression. He said that this is a position of principle in defence of international law.

Everything should be done to suppress this aggression, otherwise an aggression may break out in another place tomorrow, the minister said.

'Concern Growing Into Alarm'

PM1408213190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Aug 90 First Edition p 5

["Observer's Opinion" by Vitaliy Korionov under the general heading "Persian Gulf: The Specter of War": "'Quarantine' or Blockade?"]

[Text] Concern growing into alarm—this is how the feelings of millions of people in the world, whose eyes are focused on the Persian Gulf, could be described.

The policy of armed confrontation has its logic. Baghdad did not confine itself to the "blitzkrieg" against Kuwait. It announced the annexation of this sovereign state, declaring that it intends to make it "permanent." Furthermore, the Iraqi leadership has declared a "holy war" against the United States. The Arabs are being invited to topple the "petroleum emirs." Iraqi spokesmen are already talking about the possibility of using chemical weapons as a means of "self-defense."

On the other hand the numerical strength of the U.S. forces sent to Saudi Arabia is growing with every passing day, and this is being motivated by the need to protect this country.

However, the opinion is being voiced more and more frequently that this "containment" is beginning to assume the nature of an operation designed to ensure a long-term presence of U.S. Armed Forces in the Near East region. The naval armada in the Gulf's waters already features several dozen flags, including major aircraft-carriers. Iraq's "quarantine" is turning into a blockade. Belligerent moods are being encouraged in the United States. "Possible scenarios" of U.S. military operations against Iraq are being openly discussed in the U.S. press.

New countries are being drawn into the confrontational orbit. British and French warships are being moved to the Persian Gulf. Steps are being taken which could, in certain circumstances, lead to the greater or lesser involvement of NATO and "Common Market" countries in the conflict.

At the same time new overtones are becoming increasingly audible in the incoming information in recent days: There is a growing awareness that the unscrupulous fanning of confrontation may lead to a conflagration. "The crisis in the Persian Gulf," THE WASHINGTON POST notes, "has already changed from a remote conflict into a global-level confrontation with profound military, political, diplomatic, and economic consequences. This confrontation threatens to turn into a protracted impasse, and has the potential of becoming the biggest challenge to America since the Vietnam war."

History testifies invariably how tortuous the road of wars is for peoples, and how difficult it is to find a way out of the bloodshed. Right now there is more than enough fuel in the Persian Gulf. Is is really necessary to add more?

Situation 'Getting Hotter'

OW1508025690 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 14 Aug 90

[Commentary by M. Osokin on events in the Persian Gulf, over corresponding Western television coverage of the crisis; from the "120 Minutes" program]

[Text] The Suez Canal. In recent days, several warships of the United States and its allies has passed through the canal to beef up the forces located in the Persian Gulf region. But yesterday, the canal found itself the center of attention for news agencies for another reason. An Iraqi vessel sailed from Europe for the Jordanian Port of Aqaba on the Red Sea, planning to pass through the canal to its final destination. According to reports of the U.S. NBC television company, the ship is carrying military ammunition purchased in Poland. NBC reports that U.S. ships may soon stop the vessel and board it.

Officials in Washington maintain that it is essential to inspect vessels to ensure compliance with the United Nations ban on trade with Iraq. These U.S. warships in the Persian Gulf region, according to reports, have been given extremely broad powers. Secretary of State Baker has declared that, in accordance with the UN Security Council decision, the United States and its allies have every right to stop any Iraqi ships. But Iraqi President Saddam Husayn has already threatened that if Baghdad is faced with a boycott, it will resort to resistance with the use of force. So, the atmosphere in the Gulf region is getting hotter.

So far, Washington's position has been supported only by the United Kingdom. Other powers with ships in the area have found it expedient to distance themselves from this U.S. policy. They say that they plan to simply observe the implementation of UN sanctions and will not use force to this end. Differences have also arisen here, at the consultations in the UN Security Council in New York. According to news agencies, a number of Security Council members—France, Canada, and the Soviet Union for example—have expressed concern over Washington statements that UN resolutions give it a legal right to stop Iraqi vessels. Our officials have repeatedly opposed the use of force and unilateral decisions. In exchange, the Soviet Union proposes urgent consultations in the framework of the UN Security Council Military Staff Committee and formulation of a collective policy.

At the same time, here in the Persian Gulf region, U.S. and British warships have already begun practical moves. Several ships have had their passage blocked. Observers are now guessing what the next step of Iraqi President Saddam Husayn will be. Bad news for the United States is coming in from Iraqi-occupied Kuwait. Baghdad television prefers to show such scenes of daily life in Kuwait, but other reports have also emerged. According to some reports, Silkworm missiles are being installed on the coast of Kuwait. They are capable of being used against ships.

Another report received yesterday has caused alarm in the region. The Middle East Navigation Service in Bahrain has warned shipping of the possible danger of mines in the central part of the Persian Gulf.

Sub-Saharan Africa

Ethiopia May 'Follow in Footsteps of Liberia'

EA1408203490 Moscow International Service in Somali 1600 GMT 12 Aug 90

[Commentary by Vladimir Borisov from the "East Africa Last Week" program]

[Text] Last week, we received a piece of news concerning entrepreneurship in Ethiopia. The report we got says that as of now, entrepreneurs in Ethiopia will be allowed to invest their money in any type of economic enterprise. Exceptions are the Department of Defense and cigarette-making factories. Furthermore, entreprenuers will be allowed to export their goods. In order to get their trade licenses, 3,487 people have already submitted their applications to the relevant authorities. Estimates suggest that this step could provide employment opportunities for 22,000 Ethiopians. The World Bank and EC plan to assist Ethiopia in obtaining hard currency.

It is interesting to note that this economic move resulted from a decision by the Ethiopian Government a few months ago. The current economic reform in Ethiopia has already improved the food markets in the country, despite the fact that the country has experienced prolonged drought and famine, which have political implications. The Ethiopian Government has refuted Westerners who said the economic and political reforms launched by Ethiopia were doomed to failure.

Despite Ethiopia's economic decentralization, the country has not yet undergone any tangible political reforms. By this, our commentator means Ethiopia's poor relations with the rebels of Eritrea, Tigray, and Oromo. These rebels have rebuffed the government's offer of peace negotiations and to participate in political reform. Each party is building up its military strength. For this reason, Ethiopia may follow in the footsteps of Liberia. This can best be explained by this proverb: Someone who is impenetrable by your words, is penetrable by your spear.

Commentary on United Rebel Groups in Somalia

EA1408123490 Moscow International Service in Somali 1600 GMT 12 Aug 90

[Vladimir Barisov commentary from the "East Africa Last Week" program]

[Text] An important event took place last week. This event will affect the situation in Somalia. Three armed rebel groups agreed to unite their armed struggle, as announced in Rome by a spokesman of the strongest rebel group, the Somali National Movement [SNM]. The United Somali Congress [USC] and the SNM participated in the agreement. [no mention of third group as heard]. These rebel groups have waged an armed struggle in the northern, central, and southern provinces of the country. They have carried out this long struggle without combining forces. For this whole period they have been unable to achieve a breakthrough, to unite and face their common enemy.

Though now militarily united, these rebels have not achieved political unity. Some experts on this region's political affairs have said that this military unity was possible by the appointment of General (Aridid), who was popular in Somalia. It is to be asked whether these rebels can possibly attain the political unity which they have failed to achieve. To attain full political cooperation, it is essential that they at least have a clear-cut political program.

There is no doubt that the military muscle of these rebels has increased three-fold, implying a bitter escalation in the civil war. The war has already claimed thousands of lives and has wrought destruction on the country. Clearly the leaders of the armed rebels will not, in the near future, hold peace negotiations with the regime. They hope they can achieve their ultimate goal militarily This would clearly show us that the efforts being made for political change will come to nothing. This would seem to put Siad Barre's regime in an unfavorable nightmare situation, recalling that even he himself has moved from his presidential residence to a military base only yards away from Mogadishu Airport.

East Europe

'Campaign' Builds Against Soviet Forces in GDR

PM1508092590 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 12 Aug 90 First Edition p 3

[Report by correspondent Lieutenant Colonel I. Kosenko: "'What Should Be Done With the Russians?'"]

[Text] P.-M. Diestel, GDR deputy premier and the country's internal affairs minister, intends to visit the Western Group of Forces in the near future. He announced this in an interview with NEUES DEUTSCHLAND newspaper. Judging from his words, the talks with the group of forces' leadership will focus on the allegedly barbarous treatment of the environment by Soviet servicemen and on problems associated with the burdens of noise on inhabitants resulting from operations by aviation, ground equipment, etc.

Why did the GDR deputy premier choose to visit the Western Group of Forces right now, when there are so many serious problems in the country? Suffice it to mention just the unprecedented growth in unemployment, the crime rate, and the intensification of neo-Nazis' activeness. Have the activities of the group of forces' personnel really assumed such a critical nature that the urgent intervention of the internal affairs minister became necessary? That is not the point here.

It is first and foremost connected with the fact that a campaign directed against the presence of Soviet forces on the country's territory has recently been gaining momentum in the GDR. The Western press is also making its contribution. An impressively large feature in one of the latest issues of West Germany's DER SPIEGEL under the strident headline "What Should Be Done With the Russians?" can serve as confirmation of this. Anyone reading it will be horrified: Soviet servicemen have devastated one-fifth of GDR territory with bombs and shells and tank tracks and sappers' shovels. Upon learning of forthcoming exercises, residents living in the vicinity of ranges drop everything to hide in basements, afraid that they may come under bombardment. Since 1983, the feature says, almost all the dwellings in a Stulpe city street have been damaged by shell and bomb fragments. Disdainful of witnesses, the occupying forces brazenly commit excesses against the environment, destroying all living things around them....

There is no sense in trying to prove that our forces' presence on GDR territory passes off ideally without any problems or excesses. All of this has occurred and continues to occur. But for decades all pressing questions were resolved calmly, on the basis of mutual understanding.

Shevardnadze Cables Bulgarian Foreign Minister

LD1308191190 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 13 Aug 90

[Text] In connection with the 45th anniversary of the restoration of diplomatic relations between the Soviet Union and Bulgaria, Shevardnadze, USSR minister of foreign affairs, and Dimitrov, foreign affairs minister of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, have exchanged congratulatory telegrams. The ministers expressed the hope that the traditionally friendly Soviet-Bulgarian relations, based on the principles of mutual respect, full equality, freedom of choice, and mutual benefit, will continue to develop successfully for the benefit of the peoples of both countries, in the name of strengthening peace, security, and cooperation in Europe and in the whole world.

Shevardnadze, Romanian Counterpart Exchange Cables

PM1008150790 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Aug 90 Morning Edition p 5

[Unattributed report: "Telegrams Exchanged"]

[Text] In connection with the 45th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between the Soviet

Union and Romania, USSR Foreign Minister E. Shevardnadze and Romanian Foreign Minister A. Nastase exchanged congratulatory telegrams.

The Soviet side expressed the hope that Soviet-Romanian relations in the new stage will strengthen and develop in a spirit of friendship, good-neighborliness and mutually advantageous cooperation, and will assist the strengthening of peace in Europe and throughout the world.

The telegram from Bucharest emphasizes the certainty that relations between our two countries will obtain fruitful development in the interests of the Romanian people and the peoples of the Soviet Union for the good of peace and international cooperation.

Romanian Ministry Reports Talks With Kvitsinskiy

LD0908143390 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1300 GMT 9 Aug 90

[Text] A Romanian Foreign Ministry spokesman has reported Romanian-Soviet consultations held in Moscow by Neagu, secretary of state in Romania's Foreign Ministry, and Kvitsinskiy, USSR deputy foreign minister. The situation in Europe and bilateral relations were examined, along with matters connected with the upcoming visits this year to the Soviet Union by Romanian President Iliescu and Prime Minister Roman.

Gremitskikh Discusses Increased Border Controls

LD1208110990 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0630 GMT 12 Aug 90

[Remarks by USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman Y.A. Gremitskikh in reply to a question by correspondent Jozsef Barath at a news conference in Moscow; date not given; from the "World Clock" program—recorded; Gremitskikh speaks in Russian with superimposed Hungarian translation]

[Excerpts] [Announcer] The fact that the Soviet Union has unilaterally restricted and virtually stopped Hungarian-Soviet small border traffic is not only in contradiction to the earlier agreement, but also to European political processes, and to the interests of citizens. Our Moscow correspondent Jozsef Barath asked Gremitskikh, Soviet deputy foreign affairs spokesman, about the reasons for the measure.

[Barath] At a news conference I asked a question of Gremitskikh, deputy foreign affairs spokesman: These days it is getting harder for Soviet people to go to Warsaw Pact member states than to the West. [passage omitted]

[Gremitskikh] Well, the Council of Ministers has made a decision in connection with this; everybody is citing it. Its essence is that the earlier easing of regulations has been abolished. As for the reasons, I can say briefly that they are economic. [passage omitted]

The number of people traveling out of the country has been rising continuously due to the easing of restrictions. I am sure you know, for example, that those traveling to Hungary this year were no longer getting forints, while the others were not getting korunas of zlotys. These currencies disappeared from the banks. How did people help themselves? Any way they could. In spite of the fact that, in the past months, the value of gifts taken out of the country—according to customs regulations—was not supposed to exceed 30 rubles, the tourists were taking with them shortage goods in batches worth several hundred rubles a time. This was the explanation the Ukrainian and Belorussian trade organs gave for the fact that foodshops and shops selling industrial goods were becoming empty. It was at their request that travel conditions had to be altered—made harder—that concessions had to be withdrawn. [passage omitted]

Travel Restrictions to East Europe Clarified

90UF0440A Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 32, 11-17 Aug 90 p 4

[Report on interview with customs officials, by ARGUMENTY I FAKTY correspondent A. Golub; place and date not specified: "'Iron Curtain'"]

[Text] **USSR Council of Ministers Ordinance No. 719 of 20 July stopped without warning the crossing of Soviet citizens into Poland, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia on the basis of the inserts in the passports introduced two years ago to facilitate the border crossing procedure. Suspecting nothing, people continued to show up at the border, and soon thousands of motor vehicles had built up at the approaches to the crossing points. The atmosphere has become tense in the extreme. What induced our government to engage in such emphatic action? The most perplexing explanations are being given, unfortunately.**

The current atmosphere at the border and the causes and effects were described to our correspondent A. Golub by L. Lozbenko, first deputy chief of the USSR Council of Ministers Main Customs Control Administration, and T. Bartoszewicz, chairman of the Main Customs Administration of the Polish Republic.

[Bartoszewicz] Every state has the right to establish any rules for itself. But in adopting them it is obliged to ensure their fulfillment.

Following recent negotiations, our Soviet colleagues promised within two weeks to have taken steps to prevent lines and mob scenes at the border. The Soviet side undertakes in September to open three new crossing points and a further two before the end of the year. We have a single road and must coordinate our actions.

[Lozbenko] Yes, we intend increasing the number of crossing points, but, unfortunately, such purely technical measures will not rectify the situation, the more so in that we are experiencing difficulties with construction materials, manpower, and resources.

The situation is complicated by the fact that significant numbers of Soviet citizens heading abroad, while in possession of all the legal grounds for departure—passport for foreign travel or insert—do not have the most important thing—foreign currency. In this case they carry instead of zloty, say, items which they might be able to sell to pay for their trip and make some money.

The leaders of the western border provinces are insistently bombarding the government and customs officers, demanding restrictions on and, sometimes, the prohibition of the taking out of merchandise altogether. At the present time it is being strictly controlled, but this has not solved the problem and has inflamed the atmosphere at the border even more.

[Golub] Every conceivable restriction is being put in the way of USSR citizens when going abroad. There are strict limitations on the selection and quantity of items being taken out. The value of a gift which a citizen takes with him must not exceed R30. At the same time, however, the Polish side permits its citizens to carry across a gift worth $250. Why such discrimination?

[Bartoszewicz] Poland is a country with a market economy, and our customs rules are akin to those in West Europe and the United States. Further liberalization is scheduled with us in the currency field. Whereas now the removal of convertible currency from Poland is limited to $500, in the very near future the restrictions will be lifted completely.

But today we ask that everyone visiting us take pains to acquire our or another currency. We cannot admit people without money, for this creates a situation conducive to crime.

From the Editors: There's no denying that many shortcomings and disorders have accumulated on the Soviet-Polish border. However, enumerating them, we still cannot agree with the conclusion that there was no solution other than a ban on citizens' crossing on the basis of the inserts.

The USSR Council of Ministers ordinance as a result of which the conflict has arisen reads: "Measures To Prevent Smuggling and Other Unlawful Actions Associated With Citizens' Facilitated Crossing of the USSR Border." What, however, does our government mean by smuggling?

The chief of Poland's Main Customs Administration rightly reproached the Soviet side for failing to fulfill its legislative enactments. It should be added to this that the Soviet side does not always foresee their results and consequences.

As far, however, as Ordinance No. 719 is concerned, following its adoption there will hardly be any addition to the merchandise on the shelves of our stores. And will we be closer on the way toward the great all-European home?

West Europe

FRG Cooperation on Arms Conversion 'Possible'

LD1408172890 Hamburg DPA in German 1437 GMT 14 Aug 90

[Text] Moscow (DPA)—Cooperation between the Federal Republic and the Soviet Union in the conversion of weapons to civilian products is possible according to Irmgard Adam-Schwaetzer, Minister of State at the Foreign Ministry. She said in Moscow today that a pilot study is currently being prepared to investigate possibilities of cooperation. Mrs. Adam-Schwaetzer is representing the Federal Republic at the conference on arms conversion currently meeting in Moscow and organized by the United Nations.

On the sidelines of the meeting the minister of state also met Soviet Deputy Prime Minister Igor Belousov and Deputy Foreign Minister Yuliy Kvitsinskiy. She said that the intensity of the work going on for the reconstruction of the Soviet military complex is notable. Possible successes of these efforts are for her however "not yet assessable." She proposed that conversion should in the future be an "integral component part" of disarmament agreements.

With Kvitsinskiy, Frau Adam-Schwaetzer discussed the process of German unification. For the USSR it is "important to get the feeling that no time pressure is being exercised," she said in connection with the discussion about bringing the election date forward in Germany.

USSR, FRG Leaders Exchange Treaty Greetings

Gorbachev Message to FRG Leaders

PM1408144190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 13 Aug 90 Morning Edition p 3

[Greetings message from USSR President Gorbachev to FRG leaders on anniversary of Soviet-FRG treaty; date not given]

[Text] To His Excellency Mr. Richard von Weizsaecker, president of the FRG;

His Excellency Mr. Helmut Kohl, federal chancellor of the FRG:

Accept my congratulations and good wishes on the 20th anniversary of the signing of the treaty between the USSR and the FRG of 12 August 1970.

The Moscow Treaty went down in history as one of the major documents of the postwar period. It initiated a new stage in relations between the Soviet Union and the FRG and created the necessary political and legal preconditions for putting them on a footing of constructive cooperation.

The conclusion of the treaty did much to help to improve the situation in Europe and opened the way to the

development of the CSCE process which has substantially changed the appearance of our continent.

I express the hope that, by acting in the spirit of the Moscow Treaty and also the joint statement of 13 June 1989, our countries will fully utilize the opportunities that are opening up as a result of the unification of the two German states, in order to place relations between the Soviet Union and Germany on a firm basis of good-neighborliness, partnership, and cooperation. The accords reached recently in Moscow and Arkhyz confirm our determination to consistently travel this path.

[Signed] M. Gorbachev

Kohl Message to Gorbachev

PM1408144790 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 13 Aug 90 Morning Edition p 3

[Greetings message from FRG Chancellor H. Kohl to USSR President Gorbachev on anniversary of Soviet-FRG treaty; date not given]

[Text] To His Excellency Mr. Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, president of the USSR:

Esteemed Mr. President,

The signing of the Moscow Treaty 20 years ago opened up new prospects for relations between the FRG and the USSR and created preconditions for the CSCE process, without which the peaceful changes in Europe would be impossible.

Underpinned by this important basis, the political dialogue and cooperation between our two states and peoples have broadened and deepened, particularly of late.

Proceeding from the results of our top-level meeting in Arkhyz, I am convinced that this year we have entered a new phase of relations between the German people and the peoples of the Soviet Union.

We Germans are traveling the road toward unity with a clear understanding of our national and European obligations. By means of Germany's unification and the forward-looking development of German-Soviet relations, we are seeking to promote the creation of a lasting and just peaceful European order. Only peace and freedom must emanate from German soil.

We Germans are ready to develop cooperation with the Soviet Union on a broad basis for the creation of a sound base of trust and good-neighborly relations. We remember the tragic pages of history from which it is necessary to draw lessons and prevent their repetition. It is important to promote contacts between our peoples, particularly between representatives of the young generation.

I confirm the proposal made to you during our last meeting to conclude a broad treaty on cooperation between the united Germany and your country on all these questions as soon as possible after unification.

We are full of determination to rely on the good traditions of our centuries-old history, to assume our responsibility within the European framework, and to be equal to the demands made of us on the threshold of the third millennium.

With friendly greetings,

[Signed] Helmut Kohl, federal chancellor of the FRG

Von Weizsaecker Message to Gorbachev

PM1408144590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 13 Aug 90 Morning Edition p 3

[Greetings message from FRG President R. von Weizsaecker to USSR President Gorbachev on anniversary of Soviet-FRG treaty; date not given]

[Text] To His Excellency Mr. Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, president of the USSR:

Mr. President,

By signing the Moscow Treaty two decades ago, the FRG and the USSR laid the basis of their bilateral relations whose significance cannot be overestimated.

Since then both countries have developed and expanded the political dialogue and cooperation in many spheres. With the adoption of the joint statement in 1989 new prospects were opened up for relations between our two countries.

The Moscow Treaty created important preconditions for the CSCE process and so prepared the ground for the new historic epoch which we have now entered. Thanks to this, changes have been made possible in our two countries; changes which have enveloped the whole of Europe.

Since the exceptionally important meeting in Arkhyz there is more valid hope than ever that trust underpinned by common traditions and European origins, and a dialogue based on awareness of our joint responsibility for the creation of a peaceful European order, will determine our actions.

[Signed] Richard von Weizsaecker, president of the FRG

Shevardnadze Message to Genscher

PM1408144390 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 13 Aug 90 Morning Edition p 3

[Greetings message from USSR Foreign Minister Shevardnadze to FRG Foreign Minister Genscher on anniversary of Soviet-FRG treaty; date not given]

[Text] To His Excellency Mr. Hans-Dietrich Genscher, FRG federal minister of foreign affairs:

Accept my congratulations on the 20th anniversary of the signing of the Moscow Treaty. This treaty marked a decisive shift away from confrontation toward peaceful, mutually advantageous cooperation between the Soviet

Union and the FRG. The powerful positive charge contained in the treaty did much to help cooperation between the Soviet Union and the FRG to develop dynamically and progressively in many spheres, bringing undoubted benefit to both sides.

The conclusion of the Moscow Treaty had a beneficial influence on the development of the situation in Europe. After initiating the all-European process, it played an important role in arranging East-West relations.

The current process of the unification of the two German states makes it possible to preserve and develop the good principles enshrined in the Moscow Treaty and also in the joint statement of 13 June 1989, and to attain a scale of cooperation and interaction in accordance with the vital interests of our countries' peoples and the interests of strengthening European and international peace.

[Signed] E. Shevardnadze

Genscher Message to Shevardnadze

PM1408144990 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 13 Aug 90 Morning Edition p 3

[Greetings message by FRG Foreign Minister Genscher to USSR Foreign Minister Shevardnadze on anniversary of Soviet-FRG treaty; date not given]

[Text] To His Excellency Mr. Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze, USSR foreign minister:

Esteemed Mr. Minister,

The historic significance of the Moscow Treaty between the FRG and the USSR is manifested particularly vividly on the 20th anniversary of its signing.

As the solid basis of bilateral relations, this treaty mechanism has effectively promoted the broadening and intensification of political dialogue and cooperation between our two countries for two decades. In the 1989 joint statement the FRG and the Soviet Union reaffirmed their adherence to the Moscow Treaty as the basis of their relations.

The conclusion of the Moscow Treaty laid the foundations of the CSCE process and the Helsinki Final Act which paved the way toward lasting peace, security, and cooperation in Europe.

Europe has entered a new, historic phase of development when both the split in the continent and the split in Germany are being overcome. Thus we are at the beginning of a new phase in German-Soviet relations.

It is now a matter of shaping relations on a long-term basis between the future united Germany and the Soviet Union within the framework of a peaceful European order and the common European home. We seek to conclude a forward-looking, fundamental, large-scale treaty. This treaty will combine the proven foundations of relations, which include in particular the Moscow Treaty, with new chances and opportunities.

The potential of the relationship between the united Germany and the Soviet Union is greater than the sum of the former relations between the Soviet Union and the two German states. Germany and the Soviet Union will be able to make a decisive contribution to building a united Europe for the good of people throughout Europe.

With friendly greetings,

[Signed] Hans-Dietrich Genscher, FRG federal minister of foreign affairs

Landsbergis Meets Swiss Official in Bern

LD1108223290 Vilnius International Service in Lithuanian 2100 GMT 11 Aug 90

[Text] Swiss deputy foreign minister Klaus Jacobi received Lithuanian Supreme Council Chairman Vytautas Landsbergis in Bern yesterday. According to a report by Radio Free Europe, the meeting lasted about 45 minutes.

Lithuania's current situation and Switzerland's possible assistance to Lithuania were discussed during this meeting.

Vytautas Landsbergis remarked that, being a small state itself, Switzerland is in a better position to understand Lithuania's problems.

At an unofficial reception following this, the Swiss deputy foreign minister expressed the hope that Lithuania will achieve total independence.

Political & Social

KGB Announces Trial of Espionage Suspects

LD1408152190 Moscow TASS in English 1514 GMT 14 Aug 90

[Text] Moscow August 14 TASS—The KGB issued the following communique here today:

State Security Committee personnel have recently uncovered several attempts by Soviet nationals to [words indistinct] state and military secrets over to members of foreign secret services.

The apprehension and arrest of a staffer of a Moscow-based research institute attempting to hand defence-related top-secret documents to a foreigner was reported on August 7, 1990.

The KGB investigating department is concluding a probe into the criminal case of an inhabitant of the Grodno region, a former Soviet Army serviceman, who took advantage of his foreign acquaintances to persistently attempt to form clandestine contacts with members of a western country's secret services. He demanded a large sum of money for the information he had gathered.

He was arrested as he attempted to pass over military secrets.

More details about these cases will be released after the trials.

Ryzhkov Discusses Unemployment, Price Issues

LD1408173290 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 14 Aug 90

[Text] The work on the government program on switching to a market economy continues. Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov, chairman of the presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, today paid a visit to the Sosna holiday home near Moscow, where together with representatives of the Union republics a group of specialists is working on this important document. Our special correspondent (Aleksandr Nefedov) met him.

[Begin recording] [Nefedev] When people speak of the market, above all they fear that this implies unemployment, and price increases. Are these fears justified or not?

[Ryzhkov] I have repeatedly expressed the view, and I feel that to talk today about mass unemployment is generally an empty pastime. We must undoubtedly elaborate measures for the social protection of the population, including protection against the fact that some enterprises or plants may find themselves closed down. We have made such a decision, and have also elaborated a draft law. In our view the most important thing that requires particular attention today is the retraining of cadres. If people are released somewhere—of one speciality, say—one has to ensure that it is possible to retrain them.

We have a great many jobs in our country, and I do not see, I do not see—even given those changes that will take place in 1991—that mass unemployment will appear in our country. At the same time you know that in our country there are about 10 million jobs today that are unoccupied, unoccupied. All around us advertisements for vacancies, vacancies, vacancies are still stuck on the noticeboards.

With regard to inflation, we understand that the market of course not only brings with it positive aspects, not only positive ones, when, say, there is competition, and when people have to work more actively; there are also negative factors in switching to the market, and in market relations generally. So our task in fact is to secure ourselves, to secure people.

So today we have been talking about prices. We feel that for 1991-92 it is impossible to go to free prices today; to give complete free rein to everything, and to prices. If we go along that road today, we will indeed bring about a very sharp increase in prices and, accordingly, there will be very high inflation. Whereas today inflation in our country is estimated at 7.5 percent, in the absence of any regulating factors, of course, it would rise sharply. Therefore our task is that—through regulatory factors, the law, the regulations, and the state regulation, specifically with respect to certain prices, particularly for food—we must have safeguards, that is, we must do things in such a way that inflation does not spiral out of control. [end recording]

Kazakh Delegates Urge Autonomy of Republics

LD1408145790 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1400 GMT 14 Aug 90

[Text] Plenipotentiary representatives of the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic have called for renewal of the USSR on the basis of autonomy of Union republics and their voluntary cooperation and mutual aid. In Moscow today they had a consultative meeting with a working group of the USSR. The group comprises Gritsenko, Kucherenko, and Sharipov, chairman of commissions of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and Doguzhiyev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers. The consultations with Union republics will be continued.

Submit Draft Union Treaty

LD1408174290 Moscow TASS in English 1730 GMT 14 Aug 90

[By TASS news analyst Andrey Orlov]

[Text] Moscow August 14 TASS—Kazakh parliamentarians submitted their draft of the union treaty to a consultative meeting with representatives of the USSR in the Kremlin today.

"We decided unequivocally to preserve the union as a state and consider that it is our task to strengthen it," Kalyk Abdullayev, first deputy prime minister of the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic, who heads the Kazakh delegation, told TASS.

The republic suggests including a provision in the union treaty that all ethnic groups in the USSR are equal before the law, and vesting republican bodies with full authority on their territories.

The consultations, which cannot be called talks as yet, are now in their second week. "Meetings in the faceted Hall of the Kremlin are only the initial stage of the work to elaborate the new union treaty," says Soviet Academy of Sciences Vice-President Vladimir Kudryavtsev, who heads the group responsible for the scientific support of the consultations.

"We need today a general concept of the future" document. It is important to define the core problems. Groups of experts will then be formed to deal with them" Kudryavtsev said.

The majority of the delegations from republics—Kazakhstan was the ninth republic to have sent its representatives to the Kremlin—favoured preserving the union. To support this stance, they cited not only the obvious advantages of the single and huge market, but also the concern that the USSR's disintegration would mean its disappearance from the world arena as a great power.

The new treaty will evidently be concluded not by republics and the centre but by republics themselves, but by those of them which express a desire to join the USSR.

Most delegations believe that the future union should not be a fossilised structure.

Consultations "also revealed serious differences in approaches to the new union treaty, specifically on the future status of USSR people's deputies and the union parliament, the expediency of double citizenship of union republics and the union, the foreign policy and the limits of union bodies' powers.

Officials Cited on New Union Treaty

90US1232A Moscow RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA in Russian 2 Aug 90 pp 1-2

[Article by Yevgeniy Sorokin: "Shall We Reach an Understanding? We Will Live Together..."]

[Text] Moscow—Now that working groups have set about in earnest drawing up a new Union treaty, quite a few specific proposals and drafts of this document have appeared. Constructive ideas and critical observations are accumulating in the USSR Supreme Soviet, in the Soviet of Nationalities. And so, gradually, through a process of intensive search and absorbing argument, the outlines of a renewed Union of Soviet Republics are being drawn.

Everyone agrees: Each republic, entering the Union of its own free will, is a sovereign state with all rights. But there are spheres of activity that are difficult to divide, and problems arise—with respect to the organization of an all-Union market and the transition to market relations, for example. The fact of the matter is that the entire world is striving to create the broadest possible lawful expanses for economic activity. The Common Market in Europe is the most convincing affirmation of the effectiveness of such an approach. It involves the creation of conditions for the maximum free movement of goods, labor, and capital. With us, however, objections arise. It is said—enough of life in the commune. Let us disperse and go back to our ethnic compartments, create self-contained economic regions with customs, tax, finance, and currency forms, and from there things will be clear. In short, a path is being proposed far from the direct one along which Europe has traveled. But it is precisely a common market and economic interest which must unite us.

And then the problem of transportation arises. We have a certain transportation system which has taken shape on the all-Union scale. Certainly we could pursue a course of breaking up the "major arteries" of the country and setting up in each republic, let us say, its own Aeroflot, its own railway system. But this would hardly afford any advantages under today's conditions. The transportation system is concerned with great expanses and deals with overcoming borders, including national borders.

Yes, it would be difficult to tear up communications which have been formed over not decades but centuries. These are historical, cultural, linguistic ties. With all the trouble and misfortunes that have been heaped upon us in recent times, the USSR remains the guarantor of security and the maintenance of order. It is better to fight against such a phenomenon as organized crime, for example, with unified efforts. And when arguments arise at working group sessions concerning the principles of demarcation of power between Union and republic, preference devolves to the center out of habit. Acts are adopted in the legislative activity of the USSR Supreme Soviet, for example, which the Union could easily do without. But friction and collisions arise, as a rule, where interests come into contact and where there is no clear-cut separation of powers. There exists the concept of "subjects of joint jurisdiction." And this is where lances are broken.... Again, a solution is suggested by the example of the European Community, where up to 90 percent of legal norms are subject to an agreement procedure. Decisions at the Union level should involve matters already smoothed over, coordinated beforehand. This is why we must thoughtfully approach the concept of primacy of republic laws over Union laws.

How, practically speaking, do we organize the work of drawing up a new Union treaty? In the view of USSR

Gosplan [State Planning Committee] Deputy Chairman A. Troshin, each Union republic must first adopt a declaration which would comprise the basis for preparation of such a treaty. Today eight republics have already adopted such declarations. At the same time, Union republics are concluding agreements among themselves. As a result, a set of the most general issues is being determined, issues to fall under the jurisdiction of the USSR. This process is proceeding fairly intensively, particularly in the Russian Federation. Efforts are also underway in the center, with the participation of republic representatives. And so it cannot be ruled out that some types of joint declarations will be adopted at the outset, proclaiming the basic principles of the new Union treaty.

It is well known that now, in the transition period, many republics are advocating declaration of a moratorium with respect to Union laws currently in effect. A joint declaration would help in diffusing the situation.

The problem of self-determination of the autonomous formations remains complicated and has not yet given way to practical resolution. As we know, the USSR Supreme Soviet has recognized them as federation entities of the USSR in the light of conclusion of a Union treaty. How can this right be realized in actuality? The following view has been specifically proposed—that it would be reasonable for the autonomies to participate in concluding a new Union treaty by including their representatives within the Union republic delegations. But in Tataria, Bashkiria, Dagestan, and Abkhazia, the question arises of affording them the status of Union republic.

"There do not exist clear-cut border features which could serve to delineate national-state formations, and such cannot be established," believes V. Tishkov, director of the All-Union Institute of Ethnography. "The republics want to effect self-determination, up to the point of separation, within the borders of present territories. And if matters proceed in this fashion, we will not be able to avoid intensification of conflicts on interethnic grounds...."

Without a doubt, we are concerned about the fate of ethnic minorities, anxious about the destiny of all peoples. Without vanity or arrogance we must painstakingly and thoroughly think through all variants of national self-determination. Most importantly, everyone must be prepared to compromise and deal with realities.

"There are other spheres of influence for which the majority of republics acknowledge Union priority, I believe," reflects V. Doguzhiyev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers. These include the defense industry, environmental protection, and combating natural disasters and technological accidents. Coordination of activity is also necessary with regard to cultural interaction. And space and nuclear technology? Compartmented research would hardly reap benefits here. Coordination of scientific research—so that everyone doesn't reinvent the wheel—is the concern of the Academy of Sciences.

We have an all-Union law in effect according to which, in demarcating authority between the Union and federation entities, the provision of state security is relegated exclusively to the jurisdiction of Union organs. This being the case, a special all-Union organ is required to exercise such jurisdiction. This organ must have direct control over institutions, enterprises, and organizations.

"But we do not have such a committee," states Doctor of Legal Sciences I. Bushuyev in analyzing the situation. "As we know, the KGB today is attached to departments of Union republic subordination, although in fact it performs all-Union functions. The necessity has now arisen to adopt a special law on state security, which will define the functions of the KGB and determine its authority, rights, and responsibilities."

The question arises—is the KGB correctly named? Perhaps it should be all-national, or national, or universal security of the USSR? Such a name, in the opinion of some discussion participants, characterizes far more completely the protection of basic foundations of our social system. A process is currently underway in other Union republics of creating parallel structures—and they are claiming authority in this sphere. What should be done? Perhaps we should agree with those who believe it advisable to relegate the provision of state security to the exclusive competence of the USSR, with all the consequences ensuing therefrom—the creation of special government organs which would manage their own institutions, organizations, enterprises, etc., in the localities, in the republics? This scheme is envisaged in some of the alternative drafts of the Union treaty. But we must not tear ourselves away from real life. And during a time of development of democracy and glasnost, during a period when republics are establishing sovereignty and independence, we cannot fail to deal with their aspirations to have their own security services.

"We are proceeding from the premise that determination of foreign policy must be a Union function," states Deputy USSR Foreign Affairs Minister V. Komplektov. "But also envisioned here is the broad participation of republics in foreign policy—in the most diverse forms...."

But questions arise. First of all, on what basis will relations among the republics be built—federative or confederative? The demarcation of powers and functions is of principled importance. How should this be done? If we wait until the republics reach agreement among themselves, it will be difficult to say what, in the final analysis, will remain for the Union. It is evident that activity must be manifest everywhere—at the center and in the localities.

N. Gritsenko, chairman of the Commission on Labor, Prices, and Social Policy of the USSR Supreme Soviet, proposed a specific variation of the original document

for agreement—a "protocol of intentions." In it each republic can put forth its own view of what suits it and what does not suit it in our Union. Some complain about unfairness in taxation; others are not satisfied with the initial conditions they find themselves in today. Still others are dissatisfied because there are no republic representatives in the leading organs of the center. It remains to be determined what exactly the center will take upon itself and what functions the republic will accomplish. Guarantees must be identified for the contracting parties—the right to work, right to education, right to medical care, etc. In short, we live in a common home where there are many conditions for joint existence. There are rules governing the Soviet community and these cannot simply be ignored until a new Union treaty is formulated.

Attitudes on Congress Results Polled

90UN2600A Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 32, 11-17 Aug 90 p 3

[Report by V. Vasilyev, doctor of philosophical sciences, and research associate L. Orlova: "After the Congress"]

[Text] The CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences Sociological Research Center conducted a poll 16-20 July which encompassed over 1,700 persons in 19 European and Asian regions of the country for the purpose of ascertaining the population's opinion on the results of the CPSU congress. It was followed regularly by 35 percent of those polled, and from time to time, by 52 percent. Only five percent were wholly satisfied with the decisions of the congress; partially satisfied, 44 percent; and dissatisfied, 30 percent (21 percent had not formed an opinion).

Do those polled expect that the congress' decisions will contribute to a surmounting of the crisis in society?

Seventeen percent of those who filled out the questionnaire answered "yes," 56 percent are doubtful, and 27 percent said "no."

Is there satisfaction with the composition of the party's central authorities elected at the congress?

Eight percent are "wholly satisfied;" 19 percent are "more satisfied than dissatisfied;" 26 percent are "more dissatisfied than satisfied;" 14 percent are "wholly dissatisfied;" and 32 percent found it difficult to answer.

The attitude toward the congress' results is, as we can see, very contradictory, and this reflects the pivotal period in the CPSU's development. At the same time, however, the CPSU remains an influential force in people's minds, which is testified by the fact that of the Communists polled only 15 percent decided, following the congress, to leave the party; three percent decided to join the "informal movement;" three percent announced a desire to joint another party; and nine percent have no desire to participate in political life. The results of perestroyka in society are such that, in the opinion of the majority of those polled (from 64 to 77 percent), it is questionable or even impossible to expect in the next year or two positive changes in the economy, interethnic relations, and the protection of people's rights and safety.

One out of every two of those polled wants the CPSU to turn left and rejuvenate itself. To rejuvenate itself, understandably, inasmuch as, according to a report of the congress' Credentials Commission, the average age of members of the CPSU is 46. But what is meant by "turning left," particularly on economic issues?

Only 18 percent of those polled agreed fully that in moving toward the market we are moving toward a more profound realization of the possibilities of socialism; the rest of the responses were distributed as follows: "more inclined to agree than disagree," 18 percent; "more inclined to disagree than agree," 12 percent; "disagree," 23 percent; "find it difficult to answer," 26 percent. Simultaneously, among those who filled out the form 42 percent were in favor of the sale of land for private use, 32 percent, against.

The most promising forms of the organization of agricultural labor, in the opinion of the rural inhabitants polled, are individual, private farms, 36 percent; collective farms, 26 percent; state farms, 22 percent; interfarm complexes—poultry factories, fattening farms and so forth—19 percent; leased enterprises, 23 percent; and enterprises run on a joint-stock basis, 13 percent, or a combination of different types of enterprises in agriculture, 32 percent. But the vast majority (80 percent) advocates a solution of the question of preferences for farmers just starting out.

Thousands of Moscow CPSU Members Leave Party

LD1408204790 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1940 GMT 14 Aug 90

[From the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] Over the first six months of the year 27,000 people left the CPSU ranks in Moscow, and another 19,000 in July. This was announced by Yuriy Prokofyev, leader of the Moscow Communists. There is nothing dangerous for the party, it is simply that a process of purification is under way, Prokofyev thinks.

Democrats To Hold Coordination Forum

LD1408204190 Moscow TASS in English 2032 GMT 14 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondent Lev Aksenov]

[Text] Moscow August 14 TASS—Soviet democrats will hold a forum in Moscow on September 22 and 23 to discuss ways to coordinate their actions without setting up a rigid centralised structure, radical lawmaker Yuriy Afanasyev told TASS today.

Some 700 people are expected to attend, including representatives from the inter-regional group of Soviet people's deputies, the Democratic Russia group of deputies and people's fronts from several republics, he said.

Workers' organisations, including miners' strike committees, the Memorial Anti-Stalinist Movement, and the April Writer's Group will also send their representatives, he said.

"We aim to unite all democratic forces and movements, since, practice shows, that political parties, democratic parliamentary factions or movements are unable to implement radical reforms on their own," Afanasyev said.

"United and with voters' support they can present a potent force that can change the situation in the country," he said.

Government Refutes Report on Ryzhkov Action

LD1508081590 Moscow TASS in English 0734 GMT 15 Aug 90

[Text] Moscow August 15 TASS—The Information Section of the USSR Council of Ministers circulated a report here Tuesday, saying that Soviet Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov met Estonian Prime Minister Edgar Savisaar in Moscow last week.

They discussed, among other issues, the establishment of the state-run "Integral" Association. Several enterprises of all-union subordination initiated setting up such an association.

The SOVETSKAYA ESTONIA newspaper of August 9 published a news story by the Estonian news agency, reporting that Ryzhkov agreed to review the decision on the association's establishment during the meeting and noted that the association would not receive funds directly from the state budget.

The information section was instructed to refute the news story.

Ryzhkov told Savisaar that the Soviet Government has not changed its position concerning the establishment of the state-run "Integral" Association uniting enterprises and organisations on a voluntary basis.

Yegor Stroyev on 'Democratization' of CPSU

AU1408130990 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 10 Aug 90 p 6

[Unattributed interview with Yegor Stroyev, first secretary of the CPSU, and member of the Politburo: "Following in the Footsteps of the Populists"]

[Text] In an interview to MAGYAR HIRLAP in cooperation with the NOVOSTI news agency, Yegor Stroyev said that during the course of restructuring, independent people had emerged in the political arena, with characteristics previously rather unheard of, people who differed very strongly from political cadres of the former kind. Yegor Stroyev probably sees himself as one of the new leaders of our times. At the 28th CPSU Congress, Stroyev stepped into the position of the fallen Yegor Ligachev, and he inherited one of the most delicate tasks— at the head of the party apparatus, he is in charge of agriculture.

[MAGYAR HIRLAP] In retrospect, how do you view the congress?

[Stroyev] In my opinion, this was the winning congress of progressive forces. It resembled a university lecture, where the delegates themselves were the students. Gorbachev's speech was, without a doubt, the highlight, and the central question was the problem of the cadres.

This was a working congress which tried to rescue the party and to save and renew its image.

What I liked best was that it took the basic organizations into consideration, the grassroots of the party, and they are the most significant element in the party structure. Not only did the basic organizations receive full powers to enroll new members or to exclude them from the party; they are also entitled to determine the political situation in their area, and they may now take up their own position concerning congress documents, without directives from above.

I think it was also the first time that conditions were created to enable the Communist Parties of the federated republics to work independently. They were granted more rights to independent work than the regional committees.

This was the congress of radical democratization within the party, the congress of structural change and consolidation of forces on a new basis. With the use of dialogue, the congress aimed to gather all movements in our society, and it hoped to create the coalition of democratic forces.

[MAGYAR HIRLAP] What is the main objective now?

[Stroyev] I believe that a democratization process in the party has to begin with a change in the cadres policy. The congress stated in very clear terms that the cadres will no longer be appointed from above, they will be elected by the masses of the party. They will need personal prestige and they will have to represent the interests of the people. The congress also showed us that during the course of restructuring, independent people have emerged in the political arena, with characteristics previously rarely heard of. These people differ very strongly from cadres of the former kind through their logic and their understanding of social developments. These are new people who have emerged from the working class, from the ranks of the agricultural workers, from the intelligentsia.

At the first plenum of the reshuffled Central Committee, it was suggested that party leaders should not break away from the working class; this will become indispensable in future, if the party succeeds in maintaining its links with the people. General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev drew a comparison, and this was not surprising; just like the populists of the past century, Communists today have to come closer to the masses. They have to offer assistance to the people in finding solutions to concrete local problems, and the people have to feel that their worries are shared by the Communists.

[MAGYAR HIRLAP] What will happen to the conservatives?

[Stroyev] As far as the conservatives are concerned, there are undeniably some people who would like to run things the old way. We need time, and a new generation will entirely replace the old one.

The problems we have to face today may also lead us to believe that we would be able to master them if we had a strong governing hand. However, we know where that policy led to in the past. We can only progress on the course of restructuring by using new approaches.

Luchinskiy Interviewed on 28th CPSU Congress

90UN2445A Kishinev MOLODEZH MOLDAVII in Russian 28 Jun 90 p 2

[Interview with Petr Luchinskiy, first secretary of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee, by NOVOSTI correspondent Georgiy Stoylik; place and date of interview not given: "We Must Find a Common Language on Behalf of the Cause"]

[Text] [Stoylik] What is the republic's party organization taking to the 28th CPSU Congress? What is its position on the main problems of the life of the country and the party?

[Luchinskiy] Let us begin with the latter. Of course, the reality is such that there are different points of view in the Communist Party of the republic itself and in the emerging sociopolitical movements as to what is occurring in the country. There is nothing surprising in this. We have arrived at the most complicated stage of perestroyka, when a rethinking is taking place regarding the basic principles on which our understanding of socialism is based. And now we see clearly how far these principles are from the ideals of socialism themselves. I think that consideration of the strategy and tactics of our movement forward will be the most difficult problem at the congress.

In addition, we have encountered a powerful polarization of society, and this has inexorably brought us closer to very serious radical steps which have to be taken in the country. But how is this to be done? There are very many projects and proposals, but there are far less of those who would take on their implementation. For it is necessary to put a huge country into motion and on the right track. The Moldavian Communists, as was emphasized at the republic congress, believe that a lot depends today on the state of affairs in the economy. The development of market relationships is the only way to get out of the economic crisis. But how is the transition to a market to be implemented so that a heavy burden is not placed on the shoulders of the people? We are offered the Polish, the Hungarian, and other variants. But our country has its own specific features, and this cannot be ignored. Therefore, the people expect that the party will clearly state its position on this vitally important problem at the 28th congress.

Here in Moldavia, as in the entire country, many people want the situation to be normalized more quickly and conditions for creative work and a tranquil life established. And they are placing great hopes in our politicians and economists, who must determine how we should move further. The 28th CPSU Congress must talk about this clearly. We believe that the party should in no way abandon its vanguard role. We declared for perestroyka, but we did not conceive to the end how it would come out. This is the reason for the uncertainty in our actions. Nonetheless, we must place the economy of the country firmly on its feet. How is this to be done: with gradual reforms or shock therapy treatment? Apparently, with a combination of both. The main thing is that it respond to the interests of the people.

We held the 27th Moldavian Communist Party Congress. With all of the differences of opinions that surfaced at the congress, we were able to come to a coordinated position on an assessment of the sociopolitical situation, international problems, and methods of work of the republic party organizations under conditions of a multiparty system. We would also like to see such a consensus reached at the 28th CPSU Congress. Any split is a delay of important political processes. This could lead to a split in the country as well. I hope that healthy democratic forces capable of leading the country will gain the upper hand at the congress.

It is no secret that the conservatives are also appealing to us to move forward, but with old methods, proposing at first to return the monopoly of power, and afterwards to move further. They forget that the time for that has passed. The party is functioning today under conditions of a multiparty system, and it is necessary to find a common language with the emerging sociopolitical movements and to serve perestroyka together.

[Stoylik] How did the elections of delegates to the congress turn out? Who joined the delegate body?

[Luchinskiy] The elections were held according to a totally new system—according to party electoral districts on a broad democratic competitive basis. More than 2,800 primary organizations took advantage of the right to nominate candidates for delegate at individual, group, or combined conferences of communists. Six candidates vied for each of 49 seats. Consideration of the candidacies occurred in stormy discussions and severe clashes of

positions and opinions. Among those who were elected from the republic party organization at the 28th CPSU Congress, there were seven workers and ordinary collective farmers, three representatives of the intelligentsia, and seven administrative managers. But the greatest confidence was given to party workers and to first secretaries of the oblast party committees. On the one hand, this was a negative moment—too few rank-and-file communists from our party organization will be represented at the congress. But, on the other hand, the party leaders were seen as competent and knowledgeable people who could express the opinions of the communists at the congress. Moreover, party workers were elected at the 28th congress in a situation of glasnost and the broadest democracy. In the final analysis, this is an election of communists, and it is impossible not to take them into account.

[Stoylik] And what are relations like among delegates of the supporters of the draft CPSU Central Committee Platform and the Democratic Platform?

[Luchinskiy] You know, we do not have this kind of a division. The fact is that both platforms have a lot in common. And the mood of our delegates is to seek rational progressive ideas regardless of what platform they belong to. The main thing is that they promote progress. And later: To separate, is the easiest thing of all. But to unite is much more difficult.

[Stoylik] What do you expect from the 28th CPSU Congress?

[Luchinskiy] I want it to become revolutionary, bold, and the main thing, to look to the future. I would not want us to get into a discussion of unnecessary insults and into endless talks about the fact that we missed something and surrendered positions. First of all, we must think about the fact that we have to work together and to help each other. We must find a common language on behalf of the cause. For practice will become the criterion for all of our projects. People are awaiting the concrete results of the policy of perestroyka. I hope that the 28th CPSU Congress will define constructive positions for our movement forward that will respond to the interests of the people.

Prokofyev Interviewed on Party Program, Congress

90UN2511B Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 24 Jul 90 p 2

[Interview with Yuriy Prokofyev, first secretary of the Moscow CPSU Gorkom, by correspondent V. Yevseyev; place and date of interview not given: "July, Moscow, the Party Summer Surprises Us With Changes in the Weather"]

[Text] [Following four paragraphs are set off in box in center of item] Yes, this summer can be called the party summer. And the peak of this season came in July. Even at the end of last month, anxious about the party climate in the Russian congress, we looked tensely into the future: Will the 28th CPSU Congress be able to change the climate. There have been more than enough predictions and recommendations about this. The fact that they are at opposite poles has confirmed once again how politicized the atmosphere is in which we live and how different are the views, predilections, and aspirations of various segments of a once "monolithic" and "unified" society.

It would probably be simpler if these segments were "computed" according to their class or social affiliation. But the political watershed frequently passes through what would seem to be homogeneous collectives—workers, intelligentsia, peasants, and "apparatchiks," and through families, separating relatives, friends and coworkers into different groups. And although the final goals of all, despite the cleverness of various interpretations, are practically the same—a peaceful, secure, worthy life—some of them are counting on Gorbachev for its attainment, others on Yeltsin, still others on some mythical monarch, and still others... They are waiting for a miracle.

How will the Communist Party congress conduct itself under these conditions? Which paths of development will it support and which will it reject? What will it offer to communists and the entire society?

These questions have bothered both party members and nonparty members. Hundreds of communications from readers have come to the "Moscow Microphone" which was started by our newspaper during the congress. Many of the most interesting of these ideas were published on the pages of our newspaper. Today they are at the basis of our regular discussion with the first secretary of the Moscow CPSU Gorkom [City Party Committee]. [end box]

When All Is Said and Done, What Did the Party Congress Decide?

[Yevseyev] Yuriy Anatolyevich, the documents adopted by the congress are extremely large and, frankly, today when we are told to "learn" them, as before, many things may not be completely understood. Could you briefly characterize the most important policies earmarked by the congress?

[Prokofyev] Indeed, even our first steps in the study of public opinion regarding the congress documents showed that many evaluate them not in terms of their own perception but from the words of others. And here the "telephone game" starts.

[Yevseyev] This is why the readers are asking for what you might call first-hand commentary. But, on the other hand, perhaps such documents should be shorter and easier for the general public to understand.

[Prokofyev] I agree. I am also in favor of more concrete and succinct presentation of the decisions that are adopted. But in this case the congress was faced with a

very difficult task—to formulate their basic views on the situation and the prospects. The main thing was content.

So if one is to speak about the program statement of the congress, one must note the following fundamental aspects. Above all there was a fairly objective assessment of the past period and the causes of the crisis situation in our country. Further there was a confirmation of the socialist option and the communist future...

[Yevseyev] Excuse me, Yuriy Anatolyevich, but does it not seem to you that many people might perceive this last point ironically, to put it mildly. We were treated to the communist prospect for a fairly long time and the result turned out to be the opposite of what was desired. I even heard on the radio an old anecdote about how socialism, communism, and capitalism met. Socialism told about how it had waited in line for two hours for a sausage. Capitalism asked: What is a line? And communism asked: What is a sausage? One can understand the meaning of this anecdote: People want sausages without any "isms."

[Prokofyev] Yes, unfortunately the image of communism in our everyday awareness has been very much compromised by our preceding activity. But you will recall: "The party solemnly proclaims that the present generation of Soviet people will live under communism." And what happened? Hence the irony. Moreover, communism at that level is sharing everything: their bedding, their wives, the dishes from which they eat, everything is collectivized...

[Yevseyev] Everything belongs to everybody and nothing belongs to anybody...

[Prokofyev] Yes, this puts people off. Others think that communism is when everything is free of charge. But this is also a primitive understanding.

But yet people have always dreamed about a communist society. The early Marx defined it as a society where the free development of each individual is the basis for the free development of all. Is this not a noble goal?

Communist ideals, if one does away with the deviations and distortions which we allowed during the construction of socialism, fully meet the highest criteria of human values, the highest humanistic aspirations of mankind.

No, in my view, we can by no means reject the communist prospect. Even when we understand that today it is not very popular. The Communist Party is stronger for having set such a prospect as its goal.

[Yevseyev] Among the readers' comments were some like the following: The CPSU because of its constant talk about a communist society has put itself in the same category with those parties that are oriented toward something unattainable and unrealistic.

[Prokofyev] Of course, we must clearly and honestly say to the people that the building of a communist society is a program maximum which neither our generation nor our children will manage to achieve. But the party should also have a clearly defined program minimum which determines the guidelines not for the distant future but for the near future.

And here we come to another most important aspect of the program statement. The party confirmed that it supports the changeover to a regulated market economy and considers it the mode of economic activity which in many countries has proven its superiority over a rigid command-administrative system. The congress quite definitely stated its adherence to the development of our economy as a pluralist economy based on various forms of ownership.

In principle the program statement discussed a departure from monopolies in everything—from monopolies in the areas of economics to monopolies in the area of politics. Today's CPSU plans its work under the conditions of a multiparty system and rejection of a dictatorship of ideology. And, of course, there is to be a serious reform of the party itself, directed toward its democratization and the transfer of effective power not to leading party organs but directly to the communists themselves. These are perhaps the key points of the program statement adopted by the congress.

Why is the KGB Chairman Not in the Politburo?

[Yevseyev] If you do not object, Yuriy Anatolyevich, let us go through the new party rules just as synoptically.

[Prokofyev] The main thing is that they support the party's aspiration for democratization presented in the program statement. The new rules confirm the possibility, if one may put it that way, of different ways of thinking within the party, the existence of various tendencies and views. This is confirmed by the point about the possibility of holding discussions, the existence of various platforms, and the creation of party clubs and horizontal structures in the form of conferences of secretaries of party organizations, associations of communists according to their various interests, and so forth. In other words, within the party itself we are developing a mechanism that destroys the political monopolies that existed previously. This is the first thing.

Second. The content of the principle of democratic centralism has changed in the direction of granting broader rights to organizations at all levels, beginning with the local party organizations and ending with the Communist Party of the Union republic. Measures have been earmarked for protecting minority rights and democratic forms have been instituted for electing management organs and delegates to party conferences and congresses.

Further. The party is opening up. Anyone who wants to may enter it—this is determined by the local organization itself. And in exactly the same way anyone can freely leave the party.

[Yevseyev] That is, the raykom will not send down an order saying that you must accept so may workers and so many youth?

[Prokofyev] No. There will be no regulation.

[Yevseyev] And the monthly party meetings?

[Prokofyev] The times for conducting party meetings will be determined by the party organizations themselves. Just like the structure of their organization and the composition of their apparatus.

It is also important that beginning in January of next year 50 percent of the party dues will be left at the disposal of the local organizations and they themselves will dispose of them fully.

And I should like to emphasize another very important aspect. The very financing of the party management organs predetermines to a considerable degree the federative principle for construction of the party, since the Politburo now includes leaders of all Central Committees of Communist Parties of Union republics. Moreover, the rules stipulate that the republic party organs can develop their own program documents.

And, of course, everyone has paid attention to the fact that the new Politburo includes neither the prime minister, the minister of defense, the KGB chairman, nor other leaders of the leading ministries. The process of demarcation of the functions between the party and state is being completed. The party will handle its own political issues, and state business will be handled by state organs—the Supreme Soviet, the Presidential Council, and the Council of Ministers.

[Yevseyev] The party is not shirking its responsibilities. It should and will deal with questions of a socioeconomic nature. Incidentally, I think that one of the minuses of the congress was that it did not pay enough attention to the development of the party's socioeconomic policy. Because a party that does not have such a program is a party that is severed from the people, from its concerns and policies. Taking advantage of all its intellectual potential—and it is fairly high (I have in mind not the intellectuals from the party apparatus but precisely the intellectual apparatus of the party itself)—the CPSU should develop such a program and, taking advantage of its right to legislative initiative, it should make the appropriate suggestions to the state organs. The new Secretariat of the Central Committee should be in charge of organizing this work.

Who Is Who in the New Party Leadership?

[Yevseyev] Yuriy Anatolyevich, since we have touched on the party leadership organs, could you grant one more request from our readers—tell us how the duties are distributed among the secretaries of the Central Committee.

[Prokofyev] Everyone knows that M.S. Gorbachev is general secretary of the Central Committee and V.A. Ivashko is his deputy. Moreover, V.A. Ivashko will handle socioeconomic problems. From here I shall proceed alphabetically. O.D. Baklanov—defense, B.V. Gidaspov—will remain first secretary of the Leningrad Oblast Party Committee, A.N. Girenko—interethnic relations, A.S. Dzasokhov—ideological work, V.A. Kuptsov—social organizations and movements, Yu.A. Manzenkov—until the final formation of the leadership of the RSFSR Central Committee he will handle Russian affairs, G.V. Semenov—the women's movement, Ye.S. Stroyev—agrarian issues, O.S. Shenin—party organizational and personnel work, and V.M. Falin and G.I. Yanayev—international relations.

As for the Politburo, certain of the secretaries of the Central Committee, the editor in chief of PRAVDA, and leaders of regional party organizations are represented there. The range of their duties is clear.

[Yevseyev] Although it is now larger than it was, it is still possible to analyze it qualitatively. But what about the Central Committee? What, in your view, are its peculiarities and how is it different from the preceding one?

[Prokofyev] The principal difference lies in the way the new one is formed. Previously the Central Committee apparatus developed proposals for the composition of the Central Committee and these proposals were considered by the Politburo and then brought up at the congress. In this case there was a quota principle for the formation of the Central Committee. That is, the regions themselves determined who would represent them in the Central Committee.

For example, 84 candidates for party leadership positions were nominated from Moscow even during the period of the election campaign. At the city party conference 78 of them were left, since a decision was made not to include members of the Central Committee on the list until the Central Committee had made its report. At the conference of the Moscow group of delegates to the 28th congress—and I remember that there were 278 people there—11 were selected by a secret vote to be nominated for the Central Committee and one for the Central Auditing Commission. They were all elected at the congress.

[Yevseyev] But who represents Moscow communists in the Central Committee?

[Prokofyev] Four workers, three secretaries of local party organizations, and yours truly, the first secretary of the gorkom, as well as three representatives of the capital intelligentsia whom I shall name because they are well known: P. Bunich, O. Latsis, and S. Shatalin.

[Yevseyev] In addition to the quota list there was also what was called the central list for nomination of candidate members of the Central Committee.

[Prokofyev] Yes. And during the voting what I would call a dramatic situation arose concerning it.

[Yevseyev] Excuse me, Yuriy Anatolyevich, I simply want to explain to the readers who did not see the report from your press conference which we published that you spoke about three moments in the work of the congress that were dramatic for you...

[Prokofyev] The first was related to the evaluation of the activity of the party Central Committee. While I understood the dissatisfaction of many of the delegates with the course of perestroyka, I thought and still do think that an unsatisfactory evaluation of the activity of the Central Committee would be an evaluation of all of perestroyka on the part of the party. The second moment was the election of the deputy general secretary. Ivashko or Ligachev. The election of Yegor Kuzmich would simply have brought about a split in the party. And the third dramatic moment was linked to the voting from the central list. When 14 people were left out of the Central Committee—people with their own viewpoint which diverged slightly from the majority opinion. If they had not been elected this would have demonstrated a lack of tolerance of dissent. Fortunately, all three dramatic situations ended in what I consider to be the only correct way. Common sense prevailed in all three cases.

Did the Delegates Manage to Leave Through the Same Door?

[Yevseyev] I must say that our readers mention other critical moments in the work of the congress. In their opinion, all of them are linked to the possibility of a split within the party. In this connection I have the following question for you, Yuriy Anatolyevich. When speaking of the results of the Moscow city party conference you once said: We left through the same door. Could this image be used with respect to the 28th CPSU Congress?

[Prokofyev] Not fully. Since there was still the declaration on behalf of a certain part of the Democratic Platform of their intention to create a new party. But is this a split? I do not think so.

This is simply several people withdrawing from the party. It was an unpleasant moment which weakens the left wing of the party to a certain degree, but still it is only a moment. It is these people's personal affair.

[Yevseyev] But others may follow them. Incidentally, do you have information about how people in the capital's party organizations reacted to this?

[Prokofyev] So far there has been no appreciable increase in the number of people leaving the party. I understand that not much time has passed and this increase will probably happen, but I consider that quite natural. As was already noted, the rules provide for free withdrawal from the party. You would have to be blind not to see the inevitability of a reduction of numbers after the congress. I have already repeatedly discussed the causes of people's withdrawal from the party. I shall not repeat myself. I consider this process natural.

[Yevseyev] You have said that you consider the Democratic Platform like the Marxist group and other schools within the party to be tributaries of one party stream. Now one of the rivulets has begun to flow in a different direction...

[Prokofyev] I am ready to corroborate this comparison right now. But some explanation is necessary. First of all we are not speaking about all of the Democratic Platform but only a part of it. For example, behind me at the conference sat a person—I shall not give his name—with the badge of the Democratic Platform. He was simply dismayed when he heard V. Shostakovskiy read the declaration at the congress. It turns out that the organizers of this statement did not consider it necessary to consult even with a small number of the delegates and participants in the congress. Thus they split not the party but their own structure—the Democratic Platform. I repeat once again that it is a shame that this happened. I personally respect many of the comrades from this group, but I can by no means approve of this step.

[Yevseyev] Nonetheless it was taken. And now other questions arise. For example, the dividing up of party property and the relations between the CPSU and the new structure that intends to become a party...

[Prokofyev] Concerning the division of property. I know that they will raise this question, referring to the precedent of the Third Congress of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party. At that time there was a division of Bolsheviks and Mensheviks and there was a division of property. But at that time the congress was divided into approximately equal parts with the Bolsheviks having a small advantage. But now, I repeat, we are speaking about the withdrawal of a small group from the party. Not about a split but about withdrawal from the party.

As for future relations, I am far from looking for the image of the enemy in the representatives of the new structure, the more so since this group has announced that it will not become a part of the front of anticommunist forces. I think we can cooperate and even unite into a single bloc, for example, in the elections to the soviets. I think that this kind of cooperation will be the most correct solution. Any confrontation will be to the detriment of the society. We need to learn to live under the conditions of a real multiparty system.

How Is One to Understand Yakovlev, Ligachev, and Yeltsin?

[Yevseyev] If one analyzes the editorial mail concerning the congress one is easily convinced that, with the exception of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, the most frequently encountered names are Yakovlev, Ligachev, Yeltsin, and Polozkov. Now only Polozkov is left in the party leadership. The others have gone, as they say, in their various directions. I should like to hear your comments on that.

[Prokofyev] Let us begin with Ligachev. His departure from the party arena was predictable in my view. His

policy recently has become if not contradictory at least significantly different from the one pursued by the party and the one supported by the majority of the society.

[Yevseyev] But Ligachev fought until the end. Incidentally, I think this brought him respect even from his opponents. But is this evidence of his personal fighting qualities or his lack of understanding of the situation?

[Prokofyev] Yegor Kuzmich's qualities as a fighter are more than adequate. And so is his adherence to principles. He really did fight until the end. But still I do not think he was able to correctly assess the alignment of forces. If he had understood this he would have withdrawn his candidacy.

[Yevseyev] Do you think he will continue some kind of activity to form his own wing of the party?

[Prokofyev] The results of the voting showed that that would be useless. Even those people who applauded Ligachev voted against him, since they understood that his election could lead to a split in the party.

[Yevseyev] But still 700 people voted for him—this is not such a small part of the congress.

[Prokofyev] Nonetheless I do not think that the formation of Ligachev wing of the party would hold any promise. And we must understand that Yegor Kuzmich is by no means an opponent of perestroyka or of the democratization of society. But he envisions these processes somewhat differently.

[Yevseyev] Will he go on a pension?

[Prokofyev] I think so. After all, he will be 70 this year.

Now about Yeltsin. I have already said that I am sorry about his withdrawal from the party. Since he is a person who was raised by the party. And the fact that he is abandoning it during a period which is very difficult for the party. Many people are justifiably confused about how he himself can explain this.

[Yevseyev] Many people both from Moscow and from the Urals voted for Yeltsin in his election to the soviets and as a delegate of the party congress. His withdrawal from the party might now set an example for them.

[Prokofyev] I think that people will withdraw from the party out of their own convictions and not because of anybody's example. Everyone has his own reasons. Although, of course, Boris Nikolayevich is a significant figure in our society and what he has done does not serve to bolster the party.

[Yevseyev] And does Yakovlev's withdrawal serve to bolster the party?

[Prokofyev] Aleksandr Nikolayevich withdrew his candidacy because of another reason. He spoke about that even before the congress. He decided to concentrate on his work in the Presidential Council.

[Yevseyev] At one time both Yakovlev and Ligachev dealt with problems of ideology. Then both were "thrown" into other work. And now both of them are outside of the party leadership. Perhaps this is an attempt to equalize the situation. After all, the people consider Yakovlev to be the antipode to Ligachev.

[Prokofyev] I am confident that there are no undercurrents or pressure here. Aleksandr Nikolayevich made his own decision. But I still believe that he will not stand on the sidelines of party life.

[Yevseyev] One way or another only Polozkov has remained in the party leadership, and many of our readers associate him with the conservative wing.

[Prokofyev] I have already expressed my opinion about that. But I must say once again that the image of the conservative has been artificially ascribed to Ivan Kuzmich. He is now meeting with communists of various regions of Moscow, and these meetings are showing that Polozkov is far from being one-sided, he is not the person people want to conceive him to be.

[Yevseyev] But still many party organizations of the capital have announced their decision not to enter the Communist Party of the RSFSR headed by Polozkov...

[Prokofyev] There are 112 of these organizations. Out of 10,000. And in a number of them the communists have already changed their statements. Because they understood that the Communist Party of the RSFSR is not any new, special party; it is an organic party of the CPSU. And for those who are satisfied with the decisions of the 28th CPSU Congress, there is no question as to whether or not they will be a part of the Communist Party of the RSFSR. The more so since no special entry into it is required. The Communist Party of the RSFSR only organizationally forms the unification of all Russian party organizations. To say "I will not enter the Communist Party of the RSFSR" is tantamount to saying "I do not wish to be in the Moscow city party organization, I will remain only in my local organization." We are all members of the same party—the CPSU.

[Yevseyev] One more question which is bothering many of our readers. Were the already difficult relations between the Moscow Gorkom and the Moscow Soviet not complicated after G. Popov's withdrawal from the party? In general the relations between the party and the soviets in our city are a fairly popular subject for letters to the editors. Here, for example, are some lines from an appeal to us from reader V. Bezborodov: "I want most of all for the gorkom and the Moscow Soviet to be reconciled and find a common language. This is necessary for all Muscovites."

[Prokofyev] The Moscow Gorkom and the Moscow Soviet have never quarreled. But, unfortunately, among the deputies of the Moscow Soviet there is a group of people who are inclined to reject communism. It would seem that their main goal is to start a fight with the CPSU, and therefore they are prepared to transform any

everyday problem into a political one. This, of course, does not contribute to mutual understanding. But we have developed normal relations with the leaders of the Moscow Soviet. We have not interfered with the activity of the Moscow Soviet but we are always ready for fruitful cooperation. Today after our conversation I am meeting with Gavriil Kharitonovich Popov.

[Yevseyev] How will his withdrawal from the CPSU affect further relations?

[Prokofyev] This will not disturb our mutual understanding. Whoever may head the Moscow Soviet, we will cooperate with them. This is necessary in the interests of the city and of the Muscovites. The danger lies elsewhere. In the fact that the withdrawal of Popov and Stankevich from the party might be perceived by that anticommunist grouping that exists in the Moscow Soviet as a signal for stepping up their activity precisely in this area. This is alarming.

[Yevseyev] Thank you, Yuriy Anatolyevich, for the conversation. This time we will apparently not see one another again until September.

[Prokofyev] Yes, in August I will be on vacation. So now we are meeting right before City Day. Incidentally, I wish to report to your readers that within the framework of this holiday the party gorkom plans a festival devoted to our press organ—MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA—on 22-23 September in the Exhibition of the Achievements of the USSR National Economy.

Commentary Examines Foreign Policy Concerns

PM1008151690 Moscow NEW TIMES in English No 32, 7-13 Aug 90 pp 16-17

[Article by Vladimir Razuvayev: "Can Moscow Afford Being the Third Rome? Or Why the Soviet Union Has No National Interests"]

[Text] Any state works out its foreign policy based on its national interests. This is not true, however, of a state wishing to create a "global communist society." Ideological aims require ideology-loaded foreign policies and national interests are gradually forgotten.

Soviet foreign policy has always been burdened by ideological dogma. The Soviet Union's conversion to a superpower further distanced its international course from reasonable national interests. The preparedness to sacrifice this enormous ideological and "supranational" ballast has been the main reason why the Soviet Union managed to improve its relations with the Western powers in the past few years. Soviet diplomatic efforts have been successful because this country rejected its traditional approaches to international politics. The national interests of the country were not damaged.

The reshaping of the Soviet foreign political course occurred in several stages. In the middle of the 1980's, the new Soviet leadership initiated limited economic reforms, fully aware of the fact that these reforms could only be successful in a favourable international climate. To achieve this end, it was enough to simply reconsider some outdated approaches to national security which made it possible to reduce on a modest scale, part of the Soviet and American strategic arsenals.

The reserve of the Soviet diplomacy, created by the new course of Soviet leaders was very limited. However, the leadership demonstrated it was prepared for new steps before this reserve was exhausted. Domestic political dogma began to be reconsidered. An opportunity appeared to partly de-ideologize the foreign political line. As a result, new treaties and agreements and a new level of mutual understanding with the West became possible.

At the end of last year, the Soviet Union gave consent in principle to German reunification, which was a natural step after the recognition of changes in East Europe. But it was the German question that remained unresolved for months because of Moscow's unwillingness to see Europe's largest nation in NATO. The transformation of the problem of united Germany's military and political status to the most formidable stumbling block was, in my view, an indication that the Soviet foreign political reserve was nearly exhausted. The time came to balance foreign policies and national interests. The terms of big Germany's NATO membership to which Moscow has finally agreed confirm this fact.

Another indication that national priorities are starting to dominate our foreign policy is the emergence of new terms in the Soviet foreign political vocabulary. Some people speak about "buffer zones" and "strongholds." Others use the word "geopolitics," this time without the attached adjectives "bourgeois" and "pseudo-scientific." Still others advocate the strategy of "enlightened egoism." Despite all the variety of concepts, approaches and initial political positions, the essence of the demands made on Soviet foreign policy is to bring it in conformity with the national interests of the Soviet Union.

The Foggy Season

The concept of the "national interest" was developed by Hans Morgenthau, a prominent U.S. scholar: It incorporates territorial and cultural integrity and national sovereignty. In fact, Soviet authors prefer to speak of "state interests," not "national" ones. There is an important distinction between the two: national interests mean the interests of all of society, and require a consensus on foreign policy objectives and the broad participation of democratic institutions in the implementation and elaboration of foreign policies. Under authoritarian regimes, no concensus or participation is possible.

The frequent use of the term "state interests" has one more reason, in my opinion. The word "national" applied to foreign political efforts may make a politically inexperienced reader wonder which nation's interests. Soviet foreign policy agencies are safeguarded today.

The concept of "Soviet people" is not a part of the political vocabulary any more.

To be able to discuss Soviet interests in the international community, one needs to know what the state system of the Soviet Union will be. Today we can only guess which reforms will be carried out. Will the Soviet Union be a federation, a confederation, or will it return to the unitary model of the state? Will it be one country or will it disintegrate? If it does disintegrate, what kind of relations will the transformed Soviet Union have with break-away states?

Some Soviet republics are starting to develop their own foreign policy platforms giving preference to traditional international orientations. The Republic of Moldavia, for instance, attaches priority to relations with Romania, while Azerbaijan gravitates toward Iran and Turkey. The new leadership of the Russian Federation have also said they were going to work out an original foreign policy. Will this tendency continue? Will the Union government have the right to coordinate foreign policy efforts of the republics? If so, then is it time to establish a special agency in which all Union republics could be equally represented; say, a standing committee under the Union minister of foreign affairs?

To define Soviet national interests, it is necessary to see clearly the prospects of this country's foreign policy evolution. Will Soviet foreign policies remain in stagnation, return to what they were, or be further radicalized. So far, there is no answer to these questions. Meanwhile, this country's relations with some of its current allies and the understanding of the Soviet role in the international community will largely depend on the course of developments, as will the very possibility to participate in foreign policy debates.

The government's indecision in carrying out domestic reforms, and the foggy prospects of the future state, political, and social system in the Soviet Union make it impossible to define national interests of this country at present. The foreign policy departments have no choice but to be guided by their own understanding of the situation and its prospects. However, their decision may be influenced by memories of the old imperial might of the Soviet Union rather than by the current international trends.

Temptations

In the current situation, foreign policy departments in this country cannot avoid the temptation to bring a weighty portion of their corporate interest to the understanding of national interests. Today, the Army seems to be the most influenced by such a temptation. Taking into account the deepening involvement of the Army in the domestic political life of the country, society may have to pay dearly for this temptation and, possibly, is already paying for it.

So far, the Soviet Union has no democratic mechanisms of control over the corporate interests of the Army. The only form of control is that of the ruling Communist Party. However, the party's positions have been much weakened of late as has the CPSU's capability to serve as a mediator in case corporate interests of the Army should clash with any other interests. This factor cannot but influence foreign policy decisions.

The lack of information about major foreign political problems rules out any concrete discussion by experts and the public. At the current level of glasnost and the virtual monopoly of a number of departments on the formation and implementation of Soviet foreign policy any form of democratic participation in defining and protecting the national interests of the country is impossible. So far, there has been no indication that the situation could change in the near future. Efforts by foreign policy committees and commissions of the USSR Supreme Soviet remain rather decorative, while independent think-tanks, which could supply society with information and ideas about foreign affairs and thus indirectly influence state agencies, are simply nonexistent in this country. Public consensus as to what really are the Soviet Union's national interests has not been reached. More active efforts of foreign ministries of the Ukraine, Georgia, or Kazakhstan increase national participation, but in the departmental, not democratic way.

"A democratic breakthrough" in the foreign policy sphere, on which some specialists pin their hopes, is impossible. Democracy is impossible in one separate segement of the state machine. Democracy must exist on the national scale. if it is not to be found there, it does not exist at all. Today we have no democracy. That is why we can only guess why in the past few years we have had passive balance in our trade with Cuba, whether this conforms to the national interests and whether the situation should be fixed.

It is not really Soviet-Cuban relations that matters. The essence of the problem is the interpretation of the concept of the national interest; can such interests be confined to the Morgenthau definition, or perhaps, a broader interpretation is possible? Since the 17th century, Russia has been nursing a belief in its special predestination. In the past this predestination was expressed in the formula: Moscow is the third Rome. In the 20th century it was manifested in the attempts to affirm Marxist-Leninist tenets across the world. This feeling of predestination may have survived and society is likely to make it a part of Soviet foreign policy. For example, despite its economic plight, the Soviet Union may seek to preserve its "superpower" status in the military sphere, allowing massive spending on maintaining a military presence in various parts of the globe. The desire to have military-strategic allies, even if they are too costly and may occasionally defy Soviet interests, is understandable too.

Different interpretations are possible. Foreign political initiatives, even bold and far-reaching ones, can differ too. But these will be departamental interpretations and

initiatives coming from the top. No one will be able to determine to what extent they correspond to the Soviet national interests. Only a resolute shift to democracy will make things clear.

Media Registration Certificates Granted

LD1408145390 Moscow TASS in English 1329 GMT 14 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondent Igor Gvritishvili]

[Text] Moscow August 14 TASS—None of the old and new Soviet periodicals bound to register under the new press law, which entered into force on August 1, has been turned away so far, the deputy chief of the agency responsible for registrations told a news conference here today.

Dmitriy Mamleyev, first deputy chairman of the State Committee for the Press (Goskompechat), said that more than 120 national news organisations, including newspapers belonging to new political parties, have applied so far.

He added that the first registration certificate was presented earlier today to IZVESTIYA, a daily of the legislative branch of Soviet Government.

Similar certificates were issued to the Moscow City Council's KURANTIY (CHIME) newspaper, the Academy of Sciences' POISK (QUEST) newspaper, the privately-funded press ORIGINAL, and the pro sport—21ST CENTURY MAGAZINE of the 21st Century Association, also in Russian.

Goskompechat officials told the news conference that virtually all national periodicals will cost 50 to 100 per cent more beginning on January 1, 1991, as a result of steep increases in the prices of paper, printing equipment, transportation and delivery services.

The prices of books will also more than double, the officials said.

Periodical Prices To Double in 1991

LD1408170290 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1530 GMT 14 Aug 90

[Text] At a news conference today at the USSR State Committee for the press [Goskompechat] it was reported that beginning next year the price of periodicals will approximately double. The news conference was convened for the presentation of the first certificates of registration; these will be issued to all publications in accordance with the Law on the Press. IZVESTIYA has been given certificate number one.

Going back to the question of prices, let us say that whereas this newspaper cost nine rubles for a year, its price now will be more than R22. KNIZHNOYE OBOZRENYE will cost three times as much; KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA approximately twice as much; the magazine ZA RULEM one-and-half times as much. The annual subscription to OGONEK will approach R50.

The Goskompechat leaders said the reason for the price hike was a sharp increase in the cost of newsprint and printing. It was also reported that the subscription for central publications is being conducted this year from 1 September to 31 October, and for foreign publications in the course of one month from 1 October.

New Moscow Weekly Publication Launched

LD1408204690 Moscow TASS in English 2008 GMT 14 Aug 90

[By TASS Correspondent Lev Aksenov]

[Text] Moscow August 14 TASS—"The press in the present period of perestroyka no longer meets the requirements of the time. The freedom of speech, and not simply openness, should be effected in practice," said Andrey Malygin, editor-in-chief of the STOLITSA (Capital) weekly.

He spoke to Soviet and foreign journalists today at a news conference devoted to the launch of the new publication.

"Although it is written in STOLITSA that it is the weekly of the Moscow City Council, we are an independent publication. Our staff work on the pay-your-own-way basis. We plan to earn the funds necessary for the publication by issuing advertisements and selling information obtained by the editorial board," Malygin went on.

The editorial board includes many well-known politicians, public figures, writers and scientists. Among them are USSR people's deputies Ilya Zaslavsky, Arkadiy Murashov, Sergey Stankevich, Galina Starovoytova, Philosopher Aleksandr Tsipko, writers Tatyana tolstaya and Vladimir Voinovich, and television reporter Vladimir Tsvetov.

In setting out the editorial board's programme, Malygin said that the weekly planned to attend both the problems of Moscow with its multi-million population, ranging from trade to political life, and general political issues.

"We also intend to prioritise the two themes, which, in our view, are covered insufficiently by the press: the essence of the Soviet Communist Party, the Communist ideology and the activity of the State Security Committee (KGB)," Malygin added.

The weekly is expected to have the circulation of 300,000 copies. The State Committee for Publishing registers STOLITSA as an all-Union publication.

Moscow University Sponsors 'Moscow Echo' Radio

LD1408140790 Moscow World Service in Russian 0930 GMT 14 Aug 90

[Text] The Soviet Union's first independent radio station—Ekho Moskviy [Moscow Echo]—will begin transmitting at the end of August. This was reported by Sergey Kozyr, one of its managers. The programs will consist mainly of news, music, and advertisements. The station's particular sponsor is Moscow University. It is assumed that it will have 20 million to 30 million listeners, the population of the capital and adjacent oblasts.

Citizenship Restored to Soviet Emigres

LD1508084890 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0800 GMT 15 Aug 90

[Text] The USSR president has revoked decress adopted by the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium from 1966 to 1989 which deprived a number of people now living abroad of USSR citizenship. This was done to continue the work of removing injustices regarding people deprived of Soviet citizenship. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs has been instructed to report the president's decision to these people.

Crime Situation in Prisons Viewed

LD1408170590 Moscow TASS in English 1701 GMT 14 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondent Aleksandr Borisov]

[Text] Moscow August 14 TASS—A crimewave is sweeping through the Soviet prison system and the situation may spin out of control unless the penal system is reformed, according to a top Soviet prison official.

In 1989-1990 crime in Soviet correctional institutions reached its highest level in the past twenty years, Vladimir Gulayev, chief of the Soviet Interior Ministry department for correctional affairs, told a briefing here today.

The number of prison sieges grew five-fold and attacks on guards also increased dramatically. A total of 126 guards and servicemen were killed, he said.

The crimewave results from increasing numbers of extortionists, drug-traffickers and other hardened criminals being put behind bars.

They pressure prison authorities and organise strikes. The criminals' clout in some institutions is dangerously high, he said.

In addition, current laws impose unjustified bans on inmates that are at odds with international laws, including limitations on letters they may write and receive, meetings with relatives, use of money they earn and vacations, Gulayev said.

The Soviet Union does not have a welfare system to help those released from prison. Those who have served their time are not allowed to settle in some areas and are not provided with housing, he said.

Lawmakers are now discussing measures to reform the penal system, including a new classification of correctional institutions, the separation of various categories of criminals, legal guarantees for convicts, the lifting of in-prison bans and improved living conditions in prisons, he said.

Two Criminals Attack KGB Men in Hotel 13 Aug

LD1308195290 Moscow TASS in English 1947 GMT 13 Aug 90

[Text] Moscow August 13 TASS—Follows statement by the Soviet State Security Committee:

At 00:20 on Monday, two persons armed with a revolver and a knife broke into a room of a hotel in Sochi, where two Soviet State Security Committee servicemen stayed, demanding money.

Having met with the servicemen's resistance, the attackers opened fire. The KGB-men had to use their own firearms, killing one criminal and wounding the other. The servicemen were not injured.

It was found out that the attackers were Oganez Kareagozyan, 18, an ethnic Armenian, living in the Armenian town of Megri, and Mikhail Vysotskiy, 22, an ethnic Russian, living in Krasnoufimsk in Sverdlovsk region. Both of them were unemployed.

An investigation has begun.

Cholera Outbreak Noted in Stavropol Kray

90US1226A Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 1 Aug 90 Second Edition p 6

[Article by correspondent V. Pankratov: "Cholera From 'Rodnik'"]

[Text] **The "Rodnik" campsite on the outskirts of Stavropol has acquired a certain ill fame. It was there that several days ago one of the people staying there was diagnosed a cholera case.**

Local medical personnel were able to evaluate the situation correctly as they displayed their professional preparedness to the maximum. The kray sanitary and epidemiologic station provided an exact, speedy diagnosis. It worked in close cooperation with the scientific research anti-plague institute of the Caucasus and Transcaucasia located in Stavropol. The institute has very good laboratories and that helped in the examination within just a few hours of a large number of people that required special attention. In this way any possibility for the infection to spread was removed.

People of whom there was even the slightest suspicion had to be quarantined. At present there are 45 cholera

patients. Some of them are Syrians who lived at the campsite while they were helping build a hotel complex in Stavropol. Not everybody, of course, contracted the disease, but the quarantine includes the entire facility, which belongs to the kray council for tourism and excursions. All the 192 people staying there have been isolated. But then they did not have to quarantine Stavropol; the city is safe.

The RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] deputy minister of health and chief state sanitary official of the RSFSR, Ye. Belyayev, came to the city immediately. Here is what he told us:

"The biggest problem was to locate those who had been staying in the campsite when the situation became critical. There is quite a large number of them—733 names and addresses of visitors were reported to the sanitary and epidemiologic control services in the places of their residence. And it was not in vain: Five carriers of the cholera vibrio were discovered in Barnaul, three people brought the infection to Perm, and two were found in Krasnodar. Some other cities and villages were also involved. The distressing geographical spread turned out to be quite extensive. It includes 11 union and seven autonomous republics, and 23 krays and oblasts. But this is clear to some extent. But some things are still unclear. We found out that some of the people visiting the campsite did not register according to the rules. Some people were allowed to spend the night there without following the regulations. If those people do not make themselves known of their own free will, further events may turn out to be rather unpredictable. It is important to help them come into the open. We can rely on their conscience only. Those who are hiding should understand that they are risking other people's health, not only their own!"

It has been established that the problem stems from the spring flowing from underground near the campsite. This spring heavy rains in Stavropol caused landslides and that damaged the sewage systems. The pipes started leaking and allegedly that was how the infection seeped into the spring water.

The cholera source is now being localized. The kray sanitary and epidemiologic station has the situation under control. Permanent chlorination of the spring water has now begun where it all started. The Mamayka River, which receives the spring water, was also declared unreliable. Nobody is allowed to use its water, not even for watering vegetable gardens or orchards. The sewers and sewage systems, as well as all public conveniences, have been disinfected.

And what is the condition of the first victim? We mean Igor Taburkin, 23, from the city of Serov of Sverdlovsk Oblast. He started the list of cholera patients. His condition was critical, but the treatment chosen by his doctors with the participation of highly qualified experts proved to be correct. The patient is feeling much better.

Council of Ministers Moves To Supply Tobacco

LD1408063490 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0130 GMT 14 Aug 90

[Text] Information for smokers: None of them, of course, are any longer surprised at the absence of tobacco in the shops and kiosks designated for this commodity which is in short supply. But we have not touched on this subject to play on their shattered nerves. Quite the reverse, we would even like to inspire them with a little hope. As competent sources report, the lack of tobacco products is commonplace because of the economic situation in the country. In order to stabilize the work of tobacco enterprises, a conference of the USSR Council of Ministers has taken steps to ensure that the tobacco—and not least Moscow's—are supplied with the raw and other materials. This should ensure that the tense situation is alleviated in the near future.

Economic

*Report Outlines Six-Month Economic Performance

904A0539A Moscow EKONOMIKA I ZHIZN in Russian No. 32, Aug 90 pp 15-18

[Report by USSR State Committee for Statistics: "Social and Economic Development of the USSR in the First Half of 1990"]

[Text] The national economy developed in a contradictory manner in the first half of the current year. Its restructuring and social reorientation continued. Production of nonfood consumer items increased. Use of modern forms of economic management expanded.

At the same time, the economy did not improve. Crisis phenomena intensified in development of the national economy. The slow down in the rate of growth of social production in the second half of last year was replaced by a decrease in its scale and effectiveness. Negative tendencies in the economy are the result of a worsening of manageability of the economy at all levels, disruption of economic ties, low labor and production discipline, and a forced reduction in imports of important types of raw materials and assembly components. There are no positive changes in the investment sphere. A reduction in production volumes resulted in a decrease in profits in the material sphere, and its deductions to the state budget decreased. Wage increases are outpacing product output, which in turn has aggravated the situation in the consumer market. Currency emission has increased. Prices continued to increase for consumer goods and services. The purchasing power of the ruble has dropped. The foreign trade balance remains negative.

The country's social and economic development in the first half of the year is characterized by the basic indicators shown in Table 1.

Table 1. Basic Indicator of Social and Political Development in First Half of 1990

Indicator	Plan (or Estimates of the Plan) for 1990, in billions of rubles (in actual prices)	Actual in First 6 Months of 1990	
		Billions of Rubles (in actual prices)	In Percentage of First 6 Months of 1989 (in comparable prices)
Volume of industrial output	941.5	454	99.3
Production of consumer goods (in retail prices)	485.8	224.6	106.7
Including:			
Food products	156.0	69.6	101.7
Alcoholic beverages	51.5	27.6	110.5
Nonfood consumer items	278.3	127.4	108.8
from light industry	110.3	50.5	102.5
Commissioning of fixed assets using state centralized capital investments and funds of enterprises and organizations (estimated value)	193.6*	47.6	97
State capital investments (estimated value):			
Centralized	83.6	34.6	77
Using funds of enterprises and organizations	107.4*	44.0	112
Shipment (dispatch) of freight by common carrier	13.4	6.1	95.0
Common carrier passenger turnover, in billions of passenger-kilometers	1,162	544.3	102.1
Profit for national economy	198.9	102.8	96.1
Wage fund for blue- and white-collar workers for national economy	366.6	184	108
Payments and benefits to population from public consumption funds	204	93	108.6
State and cooperative trade retail goods turnover	443.0	221.6	112.3
Paid services	76.2	34.4	105.2
Commissioning of residential housing from all sources of financing, in millions of square meters of total area	144.0	43.8	94

* According to plan amounts of enterprises and organizations

The gross national product decreased by 1 percent during the first half of this year compared to the corresponding period last year; **produced national income** decreased by 2 percent; and **social labor productivity** decreased by 1.5 percent.

The use of various forms of economic management continued to expand in the first half of the year.

Some 1,900 industrial enterprises (1.3 million people), more than 150 construction trusts, about 450 construction administrations, 23,400 stores and public catering enterprises, 178 everyday services associations and service houses, 1,410 tailor shops and personal service shops, and 397 motor vehicle common carrier enterprises (more than 230,000 people) were operating under leasing.

The volume of the product produced by them is characterized by the data in Table 2.

Table 2. Volume of Product Produced by Enterprises Operating Under Leasing

	Volume of Product (work, services), in billions of rubles	In Percentage of Total Volume for Sector
Industry (product)	19	4.1
Trade and public catering (retail goods turnover)	18.6	8.4
Everyday services (sales volume of everyday services)	0.3	5.4
Motor vehicle common carrier (income from transporting freight and passengers)	0.8	7.3

Lease relations in agriculture are developing primarily in the form of intra-organizational lease contracts. As of 1 July 1990, there were 29,500 peasant (farmer) farms operating in the country. They have planted 121,000 hectares in agricultural crops this year including 49,000 hectares of grain and leguminous crops, 9,000 hectares of potatoes and vegetable and melon crops, and 61,000 hectares of feed crops.

Development of the cooperative sector continued in the first half of 1990. The number of people employed in cooperatives increased 1.7-fold compared to the corresponding period last year and reached (including those working more than one job) about 5 million people, and they produced products (work, services) amounting to about 30 billion rubles [R].

Construction cooperatives developed the most; they account for one-fourth of all the country's cooperatives.

They produce one-third of the total volume of products (work, services) sold by cooperatives which is about seven percent of the volume of work performed by contract organizations for the country as a whole. The network of cooperatives producing industrial goods expanded. As a rule, they are set up on the base of shops and individual subdivisions of existing state enterprises. At the same time the number of public catering, trade, and trade and purchasing cooperatives declined by one-third; the number of cooperatives engaged in everyday services dropped by 22 percent.

The number of people employed in individual labor activities (including as a second job) was 0.5 million. More than half of them are engaged in handicrafts; one-third are engaged in providing everyday services; and the rest are employed in the social and cultural sector, cottage industry, and so forth.

Finances and Currency Circulation

The state budget deficit for 1990 has been set at R60 billion. In the first five months of this year state budget expenditures exceeded revenues by R9.1 billion with a Union budget deficit of R19.4 billion and a surplus of R10.3 billion in the Union republics' budgets.

The state internal debt exceeded R460 billion as of 1 July.

The overall financial results of economic activities worsened. The national economy (excluding agricultural organizations, the Main Administration for State Insurance, and consumer cooperatives) earned R102.8 billion in profit, which is R4.2 billion (3.9) below last year's level.

Profits of industrial enterprises declined significantly; they were R63.0 billion, or R3.8 billion less than in the first half of 1989. Profits declined in all complexes except the social complex.

As of 1 June, state budget revenues were R183.9 billion (80.9 percent of the plan for the first 6 months).

A drop in production caused a decline in budget receipts of payments from profits (income) of state enterprises and organizations. During the period January-June, they amounted to R55.4 billion (93.7 percent of the plan for the first 6 months), which is R2.4 billion less than for the corresponding period last year.

Turnover tax budget revenues were R60 billion (102.9 percent of the plan for the first six months of the year), which is R5.6 billion or 10.4 percent more than in the first six months of last year.

State budget expenditures during the first five months were R193.0 billion (74.9 percent of the plan for the first six months of the year). Of that amount, 38 percent was for the national economy, two percent for science, 33 percent for social and cultural measures, 16 percent for defense, three percent for administration and maintenance of law enforcement bodies, and five percent for financing foreign economic activities.

Credit investments in the national economy during the first five months increased by R3.2 billion, and as of 1 June were R394 billion.

The situation continued to worsen in currency circulation. The issue of money exceeded the level for the first half of 1989 by nine percent.

The Population's Income and Prices

The population's monetary income was R300.4 billion and increased by 12.9 percent (against a planned 7.1 percent for the year) compared to the period January-June 1989. Wage increases in cooperatives accounted for one-seventh of the increase in the population's monetary income.

The wage fund of blue- and white-collar workers in the national economy, including wages of people working in cooperatives and on kolkhozs [collective farms], was R208 billion and increased by 12 percent compared to the corresponding period last year.

The average monthly wage of blue- and white-collar workers in the national economy reached R257 in the first 6 months of 1990, against R236 in the corresponding period last year; the wages of kolkhoz farmers were R187 and R166 respectively.

As a result of implementation of centralized measures at the expense of the state budget during the past period, wages increased for workers in libraries, clubs, museums, and exhibitions located in the northern economic region, the Far East, Siberia, Kazakh SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic], and certain other localities; state arbitration bodies; coal and slate industries; mine construction; and certain others.

The population received payments and benefits from social consumption funds amounting to R93 billion, which is 7.4 billion more than in the first six months of last year.

The population's expenditures for the acquisition of goods and payment of services (consumer expenditures) increased by 14.2 percent.

Expenditures by families of blue- and white-collar workers for purchase of food products increased by 5 percent compared to the corresponding period last year; expenditures by families of kolkhoz farmers for this purpose increased by seven percent; and expenditures for purchase of nonfood consumer items increased by 17 and 10 percent, respectively.

Prices of goods and services rose; their consolidated index in the first six months was 102.8 percent, including 102.9 for goods. Prices for nonfood consumer goods were five percent higher; prices increased for practically all types of goods. Prices for clothing, leather footwear,

hosiery, synthetic laundry detergent, printed products, and watches increased by five to eight percent; this was due to the expanded use of contract and temporary prices and the establishment of higher prices for so-called new products which do not differ in quality from those being produced before at a lower price. Prices for fabrics, knitted wear, perfume and cosmetics, dry goods, metal utensils, and furniture increased by four percent; prices for sporting goods, radios, rugs and carpets, glassware, and construction materials increased by three percent. Prices for jewelry were raised in a centralized manner by 1.5-fold.

State prices for the majority of food products did not change, in particular for oils, fish products, dairy products, eggs, sugar, pasta, bread and bakery products, and others. At the same time, prices increased appreciably for potatoes (by 10 percent), vegetables (by nine percent), and fruits (by 14 percent). On the whole, the price index for food products was 101 percent. The complicated situation in providing the population with food caused a further increase in prices on the kolkhoz market—by 18 percent compared to the corresponding period last year.

Kolkhoz market prices increased sharply for meat products: by 24 percent in May; for beef they increased by 28 and 32 percent; and for pork by 29 and 35 percent, respectively. In Chita, Vladivostok, Sukhumi, Perm, Vladimir, Ivanov, and Tver, the average kolkhoz market price for beef in June was R10-12 per kg, and in Leningrad and Moscow it was more than R13; pork was sold at a price of R8-10 in markets in Kaluga, Kostroma, Arkhangelsk, Kiev, Lutsk, Odessa, Minsk, Vilnius, Tver, and other cities. At the same time beef was sold at a price of up to R4 per kg in markets in Kursk, Chernigov, Kremenchug, Panevezhis, Pavlodar, Polotsk, Elista, and certain other cities; pork was sold at that price in Petropavlovsk, Tselinograd, Astrakhan, Omsk, Bukhara, Maykop, Kzyl-Orda, and other cities.

Kolkhoz market prices for vegetables in the first six months of the year increased by 26 percent compared to the same period last year, including by 36 percent in June (for fresh cabbage, tomatoes, and cucumbers by 32-42 percent); fruits increased by 23 and 33 percent; and early potatoes increased by 13 and 16 percent, respectively.

Prices for services in the first six months of the year were two percent higher than the level of prices for the corresponding period last year. They increased the most for services of cultural institutions by 9.5 percent, and for everyday services by six percent. Prices for services of state passenger transportation, communications, and housing and municipal services remained unchanged.

The population's deposits in institutions of the USSR Savings Bank were R353.9 billion as of 1 July, which is R16 billion more than at the start of the year. Payment of cash from the deposits increased sharply in May-June.

During the period January-June, R1.2 billion worth of freely circulating state bonds were sold. As of 1 July, about R2 billion in specific-purpose, noninterest-bearing state bonds and R10.4 billion in treasury notes had been sold to the population.

Payments of insurance indemnity and sums of insurance to the population were R4.6 billion.

Labor Resources and Employment

As of 1 July 1990, the country's labor resources exceeded 164 million people. There were 136.6 million people employed in all spheres of activity. The distribution of workers by sectors of the economy is shown in Table 3.

Table 3. Distribution of Workers by Sectors of the Economy (in millions of people)

Sector	January-June	
	1989	1990
State sector of the economy	116.3	114.8
Cooperative sector of the economy	16.2	17.5
Including:		
Kolkhozes	11.2	10.9
Consumer cooperatives	3.4	3.5
Cooperatives for production of goods and services (not counting people holding more than one job)	1.6	3.1
Individual sector of the economy	4.2	4.3
Including:		
Peasant farms	-	0.05
Private subsidiary farms	4.0	4.1
Individual labor activity	0.2	0.2

The number or able-bodied people of working age not employed in the national economy and not engaged in studies exceeds 8 million (not working due to the seasonal nature of work, a change in jobs, non-working category III disabled, people engaged in housekeeping, and also individuals shunning socially useful labor).

The problem of employment remains most critical in the republics of Central Asia, Transcaucasia, North Caucasus, and the Kazakh SSR.

With the expansion of rights of enterprises to grant social benefits to their workers, a significant increase was noted in additional leaves granted to blue- and white-collar workers by decision of the labor collective council and the administration. As surveys show, about 40 percent of blue- and white-collar workers with a minimal leave time increase their time off by means of additional days received for working unusual hours, donated days, and other days with pay (in 62 of 100 cases), officially registered sick-days (in 10 cases), and also leave without pay (in 28 cases). The length of such time off averaged five days, with four of the days with pay.

The national economy suffered losses of worktime in January-February reaching 9 million man-days from strikes and mass absenteeism due to interethnic and sociopolitical conflicts in a number of Union republics. This process came to a halt in subsequent months, and in the first six months of the year the losses as a whole were 10 million man-days which is equivalent to an average of approximately 75,000 people being absent from work everyday; direct losses of output (work not performed) due to this were R0.9 billion.

The Consumer Market and the Service Sector

With an increase of 6.7 percent in production of consumer goods during the first six months of the year, their production was lower than called for in plan estimates. An increase in the amount of R60 billion was called envisioned for 1990; in the first six months, compared to the corresponding period last year, it actually was R14 billion, or less than one-fourth the planned annual increase.

The rate of increase in production of food products at enterprises of the food industry was low, and in a number of Union republics the production of these products declined.

Table 4. Production of Food Products by Republic (in retail prices; in billions of rubles)

Republic	Production in First Six Months of 1990	In Percentage of USSR Gosplan Estimates for 1990	First Six Months of 1990 in Percentage of First Six Months of 1989
USSR	69.6	45	102
RSFSR	36.5	44	103
Ukrainian SSR	15.7	45	103
Belorussian SSR	3.5	50	103
Uzbek SSR	2.4	47	100.1
Kazakh SSR	3.0	45	103
Georgian SSR	1.2	39	93
Azerbaijan SSR	0.7	32	76
Lithuanian SSR	1.4	43	92
Moldavian SSR	1.2	38	104
Latvian SSR	1.2	44	100.7
Kirghiz SSR	0.6	43	99.7
Tajik SSR	0.5	42	97
Armenian SSR	0.4	37	90
Turkmen SSR	0.4	45	102
Estonian SSR	0.8	46	99.6

There was a decrease in the production volume of a number of food products, as shown in Table 5.

Table 5. Production of Food Products

Food Product	Produced in First 6 Months of 1990	First Six Months of 1990 in Percentage of First Six Months of 1989
Meat (commercial production), in million of tons	6.1	97
Sausage products, million tons	2.0	100.7
Butter, in thousands of tons	901	105
Whole milk products, converted to milk, in millions of tons	17.7	102
Cheese, in thousands of tons	454	100.2
Fish products, including canned fish, in millions of tons	2.8	99.3
Margarine products, in thousands of tons	817	101
Vegetable oil, in millions of tons	1.8	99
Granulated sugar, in millions of tons	3.7	102
Bread and bakery products, in millions of tons	15	100.1
Confectioneries, in millions of tons	2.7	103
Flour, in millions of tons	19.5	100.7
Cereals, in millions of tons	2.5	97
Pasta, in thousands of tons	943	100.8
Canned goods, in billions of cans	7.1	97
Including canned fruits and vegetables	4.2	93
Mineral water, in millions of decaliters	84.6	95
Nonalcoholic beverages, in millions of decaliters	307	94

Commercial production of meat declined in almost all Union republics (other than the Uzbek SSR and Lithuanian SSR). Enterprises in the Georgian SSR, Azerbaijan SSR, and Latvian SSR cut back on production of whole milk products. Butter production declined in all Union republics other than the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic], Ukrainian SSR, and Belorussian SSR. Enterprises in many Union republics this year produced less vegetable oil, confectioneries, and margarine products; production of nonalcoholic beverages decreased in nine Union republics (RSFSR, Belorussian SSR, Azerbaijan SSR, Lithuanian SSR, Latvian SSR, Tajik SSR, Armenian SSR, Turkmen SSR, and Estonian SSR).

Production of alcoholic beverages (converted to absolute alcohol) was 65.9 million decaliters, which is 7 percent more than in the first six months of 1989.

The production volume of nonfood consumer items (not counting light industry products) in the period January-June was R76.9 billion, or R9.1 billion more than in the first six months of 1989.

Production of the main types of nonfood consumer items is characterized by the data in Table 6.

Table 6. Production of Main Types of Nonfood Consumer Items

Item	Produced in First Six Months of 1990	First Six Months of 1990 in Percentage of First Six Months of 1989
Televisions, in millions	5.2	105
Including color televisions	3.5	113
Refrigerators and freezers, in millions	3.3	100.8
Radios, in millions	4.6	109
Including combination radio-recorders and radio record-players	0.7	126
Tape recorders, in millions	3.1	110
VCR's, in thousands	183	3.2-fold
Sewing machines, in thousands	855	112
Including "zigzag" machines	513	103
Washing machines, in millions	3.8	118
Electric vacuum cleaners, in millions	2.8	111
Furniture, in billions of rubles	5.2	109
Motorcycles, in thousands	508	104
Bicycles (not counting children's), in millions	2.9	104
Passenger cars, in thousands	631	105
China, pottery, and majolica, in millions of rubles	567	103
Wallpaper, in millions of pieces	297	103
Stationery, in millions of rubles	488	111
Elements and primary cell batteries for electrical household appliances, in millions	535	110
Garden houses, including sets of parts for them, frames, and prefabricated building units (in relation to delivery to trade organizations), in thousands	69.5	114
Synthetic laundry detergent in small packages, thousands of tons	616	110
Household soap, in thousands of tons	386	108
Toilet soap, in thousands of tons	167	107

The production of household appliances expanded significantly. However, the increase achieved for many types of them is still not at the level of production called for in the plan for the year.

Production of certain day-to-day goods declined: pencils, safety razor blades, cigarettes, matches, and toothpaste.

Production of light industry goods amounted to R50.5 billion, an increase of R1.2 billion.

Production of light industry goods is characterized by the data in Table 7.

Table 7. Production of Light Industry Goods

	Produced in First 6 Months of 1990	First 6 Months of 1990 in Percentage of First 6 Months of 1989
Fabrics—total, in millions of square meters	6,623	99
Including:		
Cotton	4,066	98
Silk	1,089	99
Wool	372	99.9
Knitted wear, in millions	978	101
Including for children	559	101
Hosiery, in millions of pairs	1,111	105
Including for children	401	104
Clothing industry products (according to standard processing cost), in millions of rubles	1,466	104
Footwear, in millions of pairs	419	100.3
Including for children	192	99.9

Contract obligations are being violated by light industry enterprises. Shortages in delivery of goods for contracts concluded in the first six months of the year amounted to R904 million.

Retail Goods Turnover. Goods worth R182.6 billion, or R13.4 billion more than during this same period last year, were channeled into the trading system. Imports of goods increased by R5.6 billion (1.3-fold).

As a result of the increase in production, imports coming in, expansion of cooperative and individual labor activities, and a reduction in stocks, the total volume of

commodity resources channeled into the trading system provided an increase in retail goods turnover of R29.4 billion, or 15.3 percent in in actual prices.Characteristic of goods turnover for the current year is the fact that most of the increase, 69 percent, was provided by a real filling of goods. It increased by 10 percent through the sale of alcoholic beverages and by 21 percent through an increase in average retail prices.

Despite the significant increase in resources, the situation in the consumer market worsened. The counters in the stores became virtually empty due to the rush demand for food products in the latter half of May and early June, especially for pasta, cereals, and flour.

The supply of food products in trade increased by only two percent in the first six months of the year, which is substantially below the rate of growth called for in the plan for 1990.

There were practically no increases in the supply and sale of livestock products. Compared to the first six months of last year, the sale of meat products, whole milk products, butter, margarine, sugar, and confectioneries increased by one to two percent; fish products and bread products by three to four percent; potatoes by nine percent; vegetable oil by 10 percent; and tea by 14 percent. The sales volumes of cheese, nonalcoholic beverages, and fruit and vegetable juices actually remained at the level of the corresponding period last year. Sales of vegetables and mineral water declined by seven percent, and sales of fruits and citrus fell by 15 percent.

The increase in retail goods turnover achieved in the past six months was for the most part provided by nonfood consumer items, sales of which increased by almost 20 percent. Sales of household and toilet soap and synthetic laundry detergent increased 1.3- to 1.5-fold; radios by 20 percent; tape recorders, cameras, sporting goods, gas, motorcycles, and motor scooters by 12-17 percent; watches, washing machines, and electric vacuum cleaners by 8-11 percent; and furniture, glassware, china and pottery, lumber, roofing slate, refrigerators, televisions, and passenger cars by two to five percent. Bicycle sales remained at the level of the first six months of last year.

A considerable portion of durable goods were sold by distribution through collectives and exit trade.

Despite the high rate of increase in sales of individual cultural and household goods, the population's needs for complex technical goods were not satisfactorily met—televisions, refrigerators, freezers, sewing machines, washing machines, cameras, watches, means of transport, and also furniture, dishes, wallpaper, sporting goods, toys, jewelry, and so forth.

Sales volumes of hosiery in cost estimate increased by 30 percent; leather footwear by 20 percent; and cotton and silk fabrics, clothing, underwear, and knitted wear by 14-16 percent. However, the strain in the light industry goods market is not abating and is even intensifying, which is due to a certain extent to unsatisfactory fulfillment of interrepublic deliveries.

Enterprises of the Azerbaijan SSR fulfilled plans for delivery of footwear, knitted wear, and garments to other regions by only 60-80 percent; enterprises of the Armenian SSR fulfilled delivery plans for knitted wear, hosiery, and garments by 79-95 percent. Quotas for the first 6 months for shipment of knitted wear were not fulfilled by enterprises of the Georgian SSR, Lithuanian SSR, Kazakh SSR, Tajik SSR, Belorussian SSR, and Ukrainian SSR; the Latvian SSR, Lithuanian SSR, and Tajik SSR did not fulfill quotas for footwear.

A critical shortage of tobacco products developed; their sales declined six percent. The reason for this situation is that the tobacco enterprises are not being fully supplied with acetate filters, aluminum foil (the Armenian SSR is the main supplier), and special packaging paper (Lithuanian SSR).

With an increase in individual construction, despite the increase in deliveries, there is still a critical shortage of almost all types of lumber and building materials. There is a shortage of industrial wood, lumber, plywood, prefabricated houses, garden buildings, cement, roofing slate, and so forth.

The volume of paid services was R34.4 billion in actual prices, which is R2.3 billion or 7.3 percent more than in January-June of last year. At the same time, the plan was not fulfilled; the shortfall in services received by the population was R2 billion.

Enterprises and organizations whose main activity is not providing services sold 10.5 percent more services than during the same period last year. Almost two-thirds of this increase was through expanding the sale of lumber, construction materials, production waste, and substandard products at the job site.

Specialized everyday services enterprises provided services amounting to R6.3 billion, which is one-fifth of the total volume of paid services.

Public transportation carried 27.8 billion people in the first 6 months of the year, which is 0.6 percent more than in the period January-June last year.

Passenger turnover increased by 2.1 percent and was 544.3 billion passenger-kilometers. Air transport passenger turnover increased by 7 percent, its share increasing from 18.6 to 19.5 percent; the share of bus and rail transport decreased somewhat. The state order for passenger turnover was fulfilled 100.9 percent by rail transport and 103.3 percent by air transport.

Servicing of passengers is not improving. In January-June there were schedule disruptions for 139,400 scheduled aircraft flights, or 14.1 percent of the arrivals called for by the schedule; 29 million or 7.9 percent for buses; and 58,800 or 14.7 percent for trains (not counting canceled or urban trains).

A survey conducted in June 1990 of arrivals of 1,005 urban trains in the morning hours in capitals of the Union and autonomous republics, centers of krays, and oblast centers showed that 30.2 percent of the trains called for by the schedule arrived late; one out of seven arrived 15 or more minutes late. Cancellation of 12 urban trains was announced in the RSFSR; two in the Ukrainian SSR. During the period of the survey (from 0700 to 1000 local time, not a single train arrived on time at its scheduled destination in the cities of Kaluga, Groznyy, Kherson, Tbilisi, and Dushanbe. In Omsk, 89 percent of the trains were not on schedule; 75 percent in Tambov, Yaroslavl, Uzhgorod, and Poltava; 60-70 percent in Kiev, Zhitomir, Nikolayev, Khmelnitskiy, and Kishinev.

The accident rate is increasing in transportation. In the period January-June, 24,000 people died in accidents on highways and streets; 144,000 were injured. Compared to the same period last year, the number of victims increased by 6.8 and 3.4 percent, respectively. The percentage of people who died because of drunk drivers was 18.7 percent of the total who died in accidents on the highways and streets and 17.8 percent of those injured. There were 70 accidents on rail transport in which 21 people died; in maritime transport there were 40 accidents with four deaths; on internal waterways there were 41 accidents with one death; and in air transportation there were 87 accidents with 78 deaths.

Communications enterprises provided the population services amounting to R2.1 billion, or 9.7 percent more than during the corresponding period last year.

The number of basic telephones of the common use network at the end of June 1990 had increased by 0.9 million compared to the beginning of the year and was 33.4 million. The increase in the first six months of last year was 1.1 million.

Housing and Social and Cultural Construction

More than 670,000 apartments with a total area of 43.8 million square meters were built in the first six months of the year using all sources of financing. The amount of housing commissioned fell by 2.9 million square meters, or 6 percent, compared with the same period last year. Less than one-third of the houses envisioned to be commissioned during the year have been turned over for operation. Less than one-fourth of the annual program for commissioning housing has been fulfilled in the Georgian SSR, Moldavian SSR, Latvian SSR, Armenian SSR, and Estonian SSR.

Housing totaling 8.5 million square meters has been built by the population at their own expense and using state credit. The proportion of this housing in the total amount of housing commissioned was 19 percent versus 17 percent in the first six months of 1989.

About 400,000 urban families and single persons improved housing conditions, which is less than three percent of the total number on the waiting list in 1989; about 30,000 families moved from dilapidated and emergency housing.

General educational schools with spaces for 234,300 students were put into service from all sources of financing between January and June; vocational and technical institutions, 7,000 spaces; preschool institutions, 130,900 spaces; hospitals, 13,300 beds; outpatient clinics, for 46,700 visits per shift; and clubs and houses of culture, 54,900 spaces. Compared to the corresponding period last year, commissioning of schools and hospitals declined by 11 percent; vocational and technical schools by 40 percent; preschool institutions by 3 percent; clubs and houses of culture by 27 percent; and commissioning of outpatient clinics increased by 10 percent. Less than one-fourth of the annual program for building these projects was fulfilled. The greatest lag was in construction of public education facilities in the Latvian SSR and Armenian SSR; health facilities in the Ukrainian SSR, Belorussian SSR, Georgian SSR, Tajik SSR, and Armenian SSR; and clubs and cultural houses in the Moldavian SSR, Tajik SSR, Armenian SSR, and Turkmen SSR.

Construction of boarding houses for the aged and disabled is also being unsatisfactorily accomplished this year. Facilities for 1,800 places were turned over for operation between January and June, which is only 8 percent of the approved quota and 75 percent of the corresponding period last year.

Public Education

Some 4.2 million people received an incomplete secondary education, and 2.5 million students in general education schools received a secondary education. Survey data showed that restructuring in the schools is proceeding slowly: only 14 percent of the students in upper classes, 13 percent of the parents, and 21 percent of the teachers believe that considerable changes have taken place in the schools.

More than 2 million young men and women learned a trade in vocational and technical schools. This year about 1.6 million students will be accepted for daytime instruction in the new school year, and 400,000 people will be accepted in night school; they will be trained in 1,500 vocations.

Higher and secondary specialized educational institutions trained 1.9 million specialists for the national economy, 0.7 million of them with a higher education, which is 0.1 million less than last year. The decrease is associated with the need to bring the training of specialists in line with the need for them in the national economy and also with the decrease in the size of the corresponding contingent of young people.

There are 36.5 million specialists with a degree working in the national economy; 15.9 million of them, or 43 percent, have a higher education.

For every 1,000 specialists working in the national economy, 289 have a degree; 240 in industry; 113 in agriculture; 185 in transportation; and 260 in construction.

The greatest percentage of specialists among those working is in the Estonian SSR, where 307 out of every 1,000 have a higher and secondary specialized education; in the Lithuanian SSR the figure is 305; and in the RSFSR it is 297.

Condition of the Environment

Work has been accomplished to stabilize the ecological situation and reduce harmful effects on the environment. Discharges of harmful substances into the atmosphere from fixed sources decreased by 1.9 million tons, or almost seven percent, compared to a similar period last year. At the same time, given the overall decrease, 10,200 enterprises increased discharges of pollutants into the atmosphere by 1.4 million tons.

Air pollution increased from enterprises located on the territory of the Uzbek SSR, Moldavian SSR, Estonian SSR, and Latvian SSR; as well as in the Karelian and Yakutsk ASSRs; Leningrad, Arkhangelsk, Omsk, Ulyanovsk, Tomsk, and Mogilev oblasts; and in other regions. Discharge of pollutants increased in Moscow, Minsk, Vilnius, Chelyabinsk, and a number of other major cities.

In the second quarter, just as in the corresponding period last year, instances of an extremely high level of pollution of the atmosphere were noted in nine of the country's cities. Incidents of a high level of air pollution by acetaldehyde were noted in Omsk; instances of air pollution by methyl mercaptan were noted in Novodvinsk (Arkhangelsk Oblast), Volzhskiy (Volgograd Oblast), and Amursk (Khabarovsk Kray).

Despite the fact that the discharge of 11 million cubic meters of untreated run-off was prevented as a result of measures to decrease pollution of water resources, the condition of many water reservoirs causes justified alarm.

In the second quarter of this year, according to data of the USSR State Committee for Hydrometeorology, at 82 water installations there were 158 recorded cases of pollution of the water by various substances exceeding the allowable norms by 100 or more times. In particular, discharge of waste water by the Bratsk Lumber Industry Complex was noted, which resulted in a high level of water pollution in the adjacent area of the Ust-Ilimskiy Reservoir. The breakdown of pumping stations in Mariupol resulted in an increase in the content of nitrite nitrogen in areas of the Azov Sea adjacent to the city that are used by the population for recreation.

Work was done to normalize the ecological situation in Ufa in connection with the contamination of the city's supply of drinking water with phenols that occurred in the first quarter.

The frequency of accidents on oil pipelines and at bulk plants increased during the past period. There was a break in "Druzhba" oil pipeline in the vicinity of Syzran (Kuybyshev Oblast); 4,000 tons of oil were discharged, and more than 300 hectares of land were polluted. There was a rupture in a tank containing diesel fuel at the bulk plant in the city of Tynda (Amur Oblast), spilling out more than 850 tons of the fuel on the terrain. During a flash flood on the Belaya River, an oil storage tank at the refinery in the city of Ishimbay was flooded, 160 tons of oil were washed away, and the left bank of the river was heavily polluted.

An investigation is presently being conducted to find out the causes for the death of marine life on the coastline of Dvinskiy Bay on the White Sea. Since 15 May, four million dead starfish have been discovered along a 30-km stretch of the shore.

The damage from pollution of the environment, according to data from agencies of the USSR State Committee for the Protection of Nature, is calculated at more than R195 million; the amount of claims made by these organizations against enterprises for violating environmental protection legislation (counting earlier levied claims) was R71 million, and fines on officials and private citizens amounted to R1.5 million.

Violations of the Law

About 1.3 million crimes were recorded during the period January-June, or 14.6 percent more than in the corresponding period last year; however, this year's rate of growth was lower than during the same period last year (32.1 percent). An increase in the crime rate was noted in practically all regions. The greatest increase was in the Armenian SSR by 23.9 percent, Baltic republics by 18-19 percent, Georgian SSR by 17.8 percent, Ukrainian SSR by 17 percent, Belorussian SSR and Turkmen SSR by 16.1 percent, and Kazakh SSR by 15.6 percent. One out of every six crimes was a grave crime.

There were 12,300 cases of premeditated murder and attempted murder, 29,600 cases of aggravated assault, and 11,800 cases of rape and attempted rape which is 21.2, 15.9, and 14.1 percent more than during the first six months of last year, respectively. Thefts increased by 16.4 and robberies by 28.6 percent; there were 55,200 and 11,800 cases of them recorded, respectively.

The number of crimes involving theft of state and public property also is not decreasing. There were 34.6 percent more than in the corresponding period last year. The number of cases of theft of citizens' personal property increased by 14.5 percent, including by 20.9 percent from apartments. Since the beginning of the year there have been 719 recorded cases of theft of weapons and ammunition, which is 1.8-fold more than in the first six months of last year. The number of cases of criminally punishable hooliganism increased by 10.6 percent in the first six months of the year; there were 76,000 cases recorded during this period.

Minors committed or were party to about 107,000 crimes (an increase of 9.7 percent); repeat offenders committed 169,000 crimes (an increase of 6.7 percent); and people in a state of intoxication committed about

219,000 crimes (an increase of 13.2 percent). The number of group crimes reached 129,000, which is 13.3 percent more than during the corresponding period last year.

In the first six months of the year, 663,000 people were exposed committing crimes: of that number 100,400 (15.1 percent) were women; 24,600 (3.7 percent) were school students; 30,400 (4.6 percent) were students at vocation and technical schools; and 114,600 (18.1 percent) were people who were unemployed and not going to school (age 16 and higher). Legal proceedings were instituted against two-thirds of the people committing crimes.

Industry

The total volume of industrial production decreased by 0.7 percent compared to the first six months of last year.

The results of the sector's work this year reflected the envisioned decrease in the production volume of military products and the conversion of a number of enterprises and production facilities of the defense industry to the production of civilian goods. In the first six months of the year, production of nonfood consumer items in defense sectors increased by 22.5 percent; output of production equipment for light industry, processing sectors of the agroindustrial complex, and enterprises of trade and public catering increased 1.2-fold. However, this increase in the production of civilian products has not yet made up for the decrease in production of military products. As a result, the total volume of production in the defense sectors declined compared to the corresponding period last year.

Disruptions in economic ties, inflation processes and the naturalization of exchange associated with them, and a reduction in imports of raw materials and materials for light industry and the food industry and of products used to complete equipment are having a significant effect on the work of industry.

The consequences of interethnic conflicts, strikes, and mass disturbances in individual regions are also having an effect. Just the direct decrease in production volume in connection with the stoppage and less than full workload of industrial enterprises in the republics of Transcaucasia and the Tajik SSR in January-March 1990 is estimated at R1.3 billion. Compared to last year, the production of product in the first quarter declined by 25 percent in the Azerbaijan SSR and by 12 percent in the Armenian SSR. Even though the situation stabilized somewhat in these republics in April-June, there was still a decrease in industrial production according to the results in the first six months: 13 in the Azerbaijan SSR and 7.4 percent in the Armenian SSR.

Production also declined in the Georgian SSR (6.9 percent), Tajik SSR (2.7 percent), and in the Baltic republics—the Lithuanian SSR (5.2 percent), Latvian SSR (0.7 percent), and Estonian SSR (1.5 percent). The volume of industrial production decreased somewhat in the Kazakh SSR and the RSFSR.

The production of consumer goods (Group "B") increased by 5.2 percent compared to the corresponding period last year, while production of means of production (Group "A") decreased by 2.8 percent.

Contract discipline worsened this year. In the first six months of the year, delivery shortfalls to consumers amounted to R5.3 billion, which is nearly double the amount in the corresponding period last year. In during, the volume of delivery shortfalls increased by almost R1.3 billion compared to January-May. Contract obligations were 98.6 percent fulfilled in January-June; 18 percent of the enterprises did not fulfill their obligations (in January-June of last year, these figures were 99.3 and 14 percent, respectively).

The greatest lag in fulfilling delivery obligations was in the Armenian SSR (89.2 percent fulfilled), Azerbaijan SSR (91.6 percent), Georgian SSR (95.3 percent), and Lithuanian SSR (96.6 percent). Delivery shortfalls in the Transcaucasian republics alone amounted to R1.1 billion.

The output per worker in industry increased by 1.6 percent in the first 6 months compared to the corresponding period of 1989. The number of workers at state enterprises decreased by two percent.

The power consumption of industrial output increased compared to the corresponding period last year.

A chronic lag developed in putting new capacities into production in industry. Of the 264 projects surveyed that were put into operation in the last year and a half, only one-third were put into production by the established deadline. For the rest of the projects, the workload level of capacities averaged no more than 50 percent.

Of the 210 new types of equipment and materials called for by the state order to be produced in 1990, delivery began on 73 items including electric furnaces for annealing needle tubes and lines for manufacturing metal needle casings for disposable syringes, equipment for molding and baking items from metallic powder with improved technical characteristics, multi-operation assemblies for repairing shoes by the proximate method, and a number of machines for the public catering system. The volume planned for the year of deliveries of new models radial tires with improved wear resistance for VAZ motor vehicles was fulfilled. An open-pit excavating machine with a shovel capacity of eight cubic meters and an automated miniature modular unit for preparing and processing petroleum associated gas, improving its utilization, have been manufactured.

The work of the national economic complexes is characterized by the data in Table 8.

Table 8. Work of National Economic Complexes (in percent)

Complex	Fulfillment of Contract Obligations for Product Deliveries	Delivery Shortfalls, in millions of rubles	Percentage of Enterprises Not Fulfilling Their Contract Obligations	Fulfillment of Profit Plan	Actual Rate of Increase (- Decrease) in Volume of Products (Work, Services)
Fuel and energy complex	98.7	349	34	110	-1.3
Machine building complex	98.5	712	33	109	2.3
Metallurgical complex	98.4	600	40	101	-2.2
Chemical and timber complex	97.8	1,190	44	110	-0.9
Agroindustrial complex	99.3	498	10	112	-0.1
Ministries of light industry of the Union republics	98.2	904	23	109	0.0

The Fuel and Energy Complex

In the first six months of the year, the fuel and energy complex still retained the tendencies that developed last year—and increase in extraction of gas and a reduction in coal and oil production.

Table 9. Fuel and Energy Complex Production

	Actual Production in First Six Months of 1990	First Six Months of 1990 in Percentage of First Six Months of 1989
Electricity, billions of kilowatt-hours	872	100.4
Oil (including gas condensate), millions of tons	291	96
Gas, billions of cubic meters	409	103
Coal, millions of tons	362	94

The decrease in oil production noted back in 1988 is due to a decrease in its reserves in highly productive deposits and the exploitation of less effective deposits, and also the unsatisfactory use of the operating fund of oil wells.

In connection with the reduction in the production of automotive gasoline resulting from a decrease in the refining of crude oil, a tense situation developed in the national economy with automotive gasoline resources.

The Machine Building Complex

Production of a number of machines and equipment increased in the first six months—forge and pressing machines with numerical control, excavating machines, instruments, computer equipment, and passenger cars.

Table 10. Machine Building Complex Production

	Actual Production in First Six Months of 1990	First Six Months of 1990 in Percentage of First Six Months of 1989
Machine tools with numerical control, in thousands	11.8	99.5
Forge and pressing machines with numerical control, in thousands	1.3	114
Instruments, automation devices, and spare parts for them, in millions of rubles	2,904	106
Medical equipment and spare parts, in millions of rubles	719	125
Computer equipment and spare parts for it, in millions of rubles	4,059	110
Rolling mill equipment (including continuous-casting machines and equipment), in millions of rubles	169	104
Oil drilling equipment, in millions of rubles	125	100.5
Chemical equipment and spare parts for it, in millions of rubles	541	103
Tractors, in thousands	263	95
Agricultural machinery, in millions of rubles	1,834	95
Machinery and equipment for livestock raising and feed production, in millions of rubles	1,298	93
Excavating machines, in thousands	19.3	108
Lead-acid automotive batteries and storage batteries, in thousands	4,601	100.4

A program of accelerated development of production of equipment was implemented for the technical modernization of light industry and the food industry. Production of these types of equipment increased by 17 percent in the first six months of the year.

Production of medical equipment and spare parts for it and consumer goods developed at a high pace at machine building enterprises (the increase was 25 and 18 percent, respectively).

In addition to this, there remained negative trends of a decline in the production of many of the basic types of machine building products. This applies to AC electric motors, tractors, grain combines, corn pickers, and passenger railcars. The cause of this situation, in particular, was the unsatisfactory supply of individual types of rolled metal and pipe for the enterprises of the complex.

The percentage of new and modernized equipment in the total output of the machine building complex was 9.6 percent (11.3 percent in the first six months of last year), and three percent not counting modernized equipment.

The Metallurgical Complex

Table 11. Metallurgical Complex Production

	Actual Production in First Six Months of 1990	First Six Months of 1990 in Percentage of First Six Months of 1989
Steel, in millions of tons	79.2	98
Ferrous metal rolled stock (finished), in millions of tons	57.2	98
Steel pipe, in millions of tons	9.8	94
Iron ore, in millions of tons	119	98

The insufficient supply of raw material and material resources and the stoppage of assemblies in order to improve the ecological situation in a number of regions of the country is having a increasing effect on the work of the complex. Production of the basic metal products has been reduced. Almost 1 million tons less finished rolled stock was produced than in the first 6 months of last year, and almost 610,000 tons less steel pipe. Production of sheet rolled stock, rolled stock with thermal strengthening treatment, rolled stock from low-alloyed steel, roll-formed steel sections, and a number of other advanced types of metal products decreased. The percentage of continuous casting of steel in the total volume of its production was 17.7 percent compared to 17.1 percent in the corresponding period last year.

The Chemical and Timber Complex

The continuing decline in the production volumes at enterprises of the chemical and timber complex is having an ever-increasing effect on intersectorial ties and resulting in disruptions in delivery of products.

Table 12. Chemical and Timber Complex Production

	Actual Production in First Six Months of 1990	First Six Months of 1990 in Percentage of First Six Months of 1989
Mineral fertilizers (recalculated at 100 percent of nutrients), in millions of tons	16.7	90
Sulfuric acid, in millions of tons	13.8	97
Caustic soda, in millions of ton	1.5	91
Chemical fibers and filaments, in thousands of tons	779	99.4
Synthetic resins and plastics, in thousands of tons	2,859	98
Pipes and pipeline parts from thermoplastics, in thousands of tons	97.6	95
Truck tires, in millions	13.6	98
Passenger car tires, in millions	12.7	104
Medicines, in millions of rubles	2,001	107
Paper, in millions of tons	3.1	98
Including newsprint, in billions of square meters	18.4	99.5
Cardboard, in millions of tons	2.2	99

There was an especially large lag in the production of the most important raw material products of basic chemistry.

In the "Agrokhim" Association, the level of production was lower than in the first six months of 1989 at 22 of the 26 enterprises producing synthetic ammonia, at half of the 26 enterprises producing sulfuric acid, and at nine of the 17 enterprises of the USSR Ministry of the Petroleum Refining and Petrochemical Industry producing caustic soda.

The Krivakan Chemical Fiber Plant of the USSR Ministry of the Petroleum Refining and Petrochemical Industry, which has a monopoly in the country for producing acetate packing material for cigarette filters, continues to operate at less than full capacity, which has a negative effect on production of tobacco products. The production of chemical fibers and filaments at this enterprise has declined by almost one-third.

In connection with the shortage of hydrocarbon raw materials, the work of enterprises for production of synthetic rubber is made more difficult. Production of this product decline by six percent. The Nairit Production Association (Armenian SSR), being the only manufacturer of chloroprene rubber, is still not operating, which adversely affects the operation of related production facilities for production of footwear and industrial rubber products.

Since the beginning of the year, enterprises of the USSR Ministry of the Medical Industry have produced R126 billion worth of medicines more than during the corresponding period last year. However, as a result of a shortage of raw material resources (propionic, formic, hydrochloric, and acetic acids; oxyacetylic compounds), there was a decline in the production of vitamins, synthetic antibiotics, and individual types of cardiovascular preparations.

This year an extremely tense situation has developed in supplying the national economy with products of the timber industry. During the first 6 months of the year, production of industrial wood at enterprises of the USSR Ministry of the Timber Industry declined by 10.5 million cubic meters, or 10 percent, compared to the corresponding period last year.

Shortages of raw materials was negatively reflected in the operation of the sector's processing production facilities. In the sawing industry, due to a lack of supplies of raw materials for sawing and the idle times of capacities resulting from this, the output of lumber in January-June was seven percent below last year's level; production fell 11-17 percent at the "Arkhangelsklesprom," "Primorsklesprom," "Karellesprom," and "Irkutsklesprom" production associations.

Lack of supplies of raw wood-pulp materials and interruptions in delivery of chemicals for enterprises of the paper and pulp industry resulted in a reduction in production volumes of the sector's main products—commercial pulp (by six percent), cardboard and paper (by 1-2 percent). Shortfalls in delivery of pulp products to consumers were about R400 million for the USSR Ministry of the Timber Industry as a whole.

Industry of the Construction Complex

Table 13. Construction Complex Production

	Actual Production in First Six Months of 1990	First Six Months of 1990 in Percentage of First Six Months of 1989
Cement, in millions of tons	69.3	98
Asbestos-steel sheeting (slate roofing), in billions of tiles	4.6	101
Asbestos-cement pipe and couplings, in thousands of km of pipe	42.2	100.1
Pliant roofing material and insulation, in millions of square meters	954	95
Triple-laminated safety glass (triplex), in thousands of square meters	1,395	100.6

The increase in production of house building products in the first six months of the year was: two percent for ceramic tiles; three percent for sinks and basins; four percent for radiators and convectors; six percent for gas ranges; and 21 percent for bathtubs.

Production of the main products of the construction industry declined—cement and asbestos; pliant roofing material and insulation; reinforced concrete pressure pipe; and window glass. Production of prefabricated construction products decreased. Production of precast reinforced concrete was 2 million cubic meters less than in the first six months of last year; production of structures for large-panel home building was 0.6 million square meters less; and production of light metalwork was 56,000 square meters less.

About 17.0 percent of the cement was produced using the resource-conserving "dry" method (17.6 percent in the period January-June 1989. The volume of unlimited sale of industrial products was R52.6, which was 14 percent more than during the corresponding period last year.

The Agro-Industrial Complex

In the first six months of this year, R69.6 billion worth of food products were produced. The increase in their production was 1.2 billion with plan estimates of R11 billion for the year.

Agricultural enterprises of the RSFSR, Uzbek SSR, Lithuanian SSR, Moldavian SSR, and Estonian SSR increased meat production somewhat this year compared to a similar period last year. However, the level of meat production for the country as a whole was lower than last year, which was the main reason for the decrease in industrial production of meat at enterprises of the processing industry and the decline in supplies of meat products for the population.

Egg production was lower than in the first 6 months of last year.

The production of livestock products at kolkhozs, sovkhozs [state farms], and interorganizational enterprises this year changed as shown in Table 14.

Table 14. Changes in Production of Livestock Products

Product	January-June		
	1989	1990	1990 as a Percentage of 1989
Meat (live weight), in millions of tons	10.8	10.6	99
Milk, in millions of tons	44.3	45.4	102
Eggs, in billions	31.5	30.3	96

For the country as a whole, the average milk yield per cow at kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and interorganizational enterprises was 1.527 kg during January-June compared to 1.484 kg during the same period in 1989. At the same time, the productivity of cows decreased on farms in 10 Union republics.

The number of livestock and poultry declined at agricultural enterprises in many regions of the country.

Table 15. Number of Livestock and Poultry at Agricultural Enterprises (in millions of head)

	As of 1 July	
	1989	1990
Cattle	95.7	93.2
Including cows	28.6	28.2
Pigs	59.2	57.2
Sheep and goats	142.3	135.9
All types of poultry	792.2	775.6

Agricultural enterprises suffered significant losses of meat resources due to a large loss of livestock. In the last six months there were losses of 1.6 million head of cattle, 4.0 million pigs, and 4.3 million head of sheep and goats. The percentage of cattle losses were higher than the average for the country on farms in the RSFSR, Lithuanian SSR, Latvian SSR, Estonian SSR, and Moldavian SSR; losses of pigs were higher on farms in the RSFSR, Lithuanian SSR, Moldavian SSR, Latvian SSR, and Estonian SSR; losses of sheep and goats were higher on farms in the RSFSR and Kirghiz SSR.

Purchases of livestock, poultry, and eggs declined this year.

Table 16. Purchases of Livestock, Poultry, and Eggs

	First Six Months		
	1989	1990	1990 as a Percentage of 1989
Livestock and poultry, in millions of tons:			
Live weight	10.8	10.5	97
Dressed weight	7.1	6.9	97
Milk, in millions of tons	39.1	40.2	103
Eggs, in billions	28.1	27.2	97

Compared to the first six months of last year, 25,000 farms (46 percent) reduced purchases of livestock and poultry, and 19,000 (39 percent) reduced purchases of milk. The six-month plan for deliveries of meat and meat products to the all-Union stocks was 86 percent fulfilled, and for milk and dairy products was 97 percent fulfilled. Obligations for delivery of these products were not fulfilled by the Ukrainian SSR, Lithuanian SSR, Latvian SSR, and Estonian SSR. The Belorussian SSR, Kazakh SSR, and Moldavian SSR did not fulfill the plan for deliveries of meat and meat products.

Fewer vegetables were purchased than last year. As of 25 June, the volume of vegetable purchases was 1.2 million tons, which is 207,000 tons, or 14 percent, less than as of the same date last year. Farms in 12 Union republics (except the Uzbek SSR, Latvian SSR, and Estonian SSR) reduced the sale of vegetables. The greatest reduction was in the Moldavian SSR, Azerbaijan SSR, and Armenian SSR.

There were 316,000 tons of potatoes purchased compared to 376,000 tons during the same period last year.

Agricultural enterprises completed the planting of spring crops. The total area of agricultural crops planted for the 1990 harvest was 207.5 million hectares (209.3 million hectares in 1989). There were 111.0 million hectares planted in grain and leguminous crops, compared to 112.9 million in 1989; of this amount, 47.7 million hectares were planted in wheat (winter and spring) compared to 47.6 million in 1989.

There are 63.4 million hectares in food grain crops (57 percent of the total area of grain crops) and 41.9 million hectares (38 percent) in grain fodder crops. Potatoes were planted on 5.8 million hectares, or 172,000 hectares less than last year.

Haying and the storing up of feed are under way all over. As of 2 July this year, 18.7 million tons of feed in terms of feed units have been stored up and 2.2 quintals per head of livestock (as of this date last year, these figures were 24.3 million tons and 2.9 quintals, respectively).

Farms in 11 of the Union republics have begun harvesting grain crops.

Agriculture received more than 150,000 tractors; 133,000 trucks; 33,000 harvesting combines; 30,000 windrowers; 25,000 each tractor-mounted mowers and milking machines; 12,000 combine-harvesters; 3,000 each potato diggers, corn pickers, and cotton pickers; and 6,000 overhead irrigation machines.

Contract obligations for delivery of grain harvester-combines, corn pickers, grain cleaners, windrowers, milking machines, potato diggers, and overhead irrigation machines were not fulfilled.

Deliveries of most types of agricultural machinery were below last year's level.

The decrease in the volumes of production and deliveries of agricultural machinery was mainly due to shortfalls in the delivery of rolled metal and a number of assembly parts.

There were 12.1 million tons of mineral fertilizers and 23.8 million tons of lime materials delivered, which is 1.8 and 2.8 million tons less than last year, respectively.

More than R27 billion in capital investments from all sources of financing, which was 40 percent of the annual amount accepted by enterprises, were used for development of the agroindustrial complex, including sectors supplying agriculture with means of production.

Some 13 percent more funds than last year have been allocated for development of the processing sectors of the agroindustrial complex. However, these funds are

not being put to use satisfactorily; in the first 6 months of the year, R2.2 billion, or 32 percent of the annual volume of allocated capital investments, were used.

State order for 1990 called for commissioning of 234 projects of the agroindustrial complex (including those delayed from 1989), including 62 during the first 6 months. There were 18 projects actually commissioned. Capacities were put into operation for production of meat, nonfat dry milk, whole milk substitute and dry whey, and canned fruits and vegetables. Milling and mixed feed enterprises were commissioned.

Capital Construction

Commissioning of production capacities and projects called for in the plan is not being fulfilled, which is having a destabilizing effect on the economy.

The program for commissioning of state order projects in the first 6 months of 1990 was disrupted: five of 15 production capacities have been accepted into operation. Only 56 of the 135 state order projects which were not commissioned in 1989 have been commissioned this year.

There is a lag in construction of state order projects for producing nonfood consumer goods, which is exacerbating the situation in the consumer market. It was planned to commission 22 of these projects during the period January-June (including those delayed from last year); only 15 have actually been accepted into operation. Once again, deadlines have been missed for commissioning capacities for production of 100 million disposable syringes at the Belgorod-Dnestrovsk Plant for making medical products from polymeric materials; for production of 1.2 million pairs of shoes at the shoe factory in Krasnogvardeysk in Samarkand Oblast, 3 million pairs at the Kokand Shoe Factory, and 0.8 million pairs at the branch of the Dushanbe Leather Shoe Production Association in the city of Klyab; and furniture worth R30.7 million at the Andizhan Furniture Factory.

Despite the alarming ecological situation, two-thirds of the state order environmental protection projects have not been commissioned. They include sewage treatment plants in the cities of Myski of Kemerovo Oblast, Kokchetav and Petropavlovsk, and at the Vokhovskiy Aluminum Plant; a closed water supply system at the Samarkand Chemical Plant; and equipment for collecting and neutralizing harmful substances from waste gases at the Severnyy Donetsk Stekloplastik Production Association in Luga Oblast.

Commissioning of fixed assets using state capital investments amounted to R47.6 billion, which is three percent less than during the corresponding period last year.

State capital investments amounting to R78.6 billion have been put into operation, or seven percent less than in the same period last year. The volume of investments financed using the funds of enterprises and organizations increased. They amounted to 56 percent of the total volume of capital investments of state enterprises, as opposed to 47 percent in the first six months of 1989. In the ministries included in the machine building complex, the percentage of enterprises' own funds amounted to 78 percent; in the metallurgical complex it was 72 percent; and in the chemical and timber complex it was 79 percent.

Despite a certain reduction in the front of production construction, allocated funds, as in previous years, are scattered over numerous construction projects, which does not make it possible to fully provide the program under way with materials and financial resources. As of the beginning of the second quarter, projects under construction in 1990 were provided only 85 percent of the capital investments necessary to complete them. Construction still takes twice as long as the standardized time period. The volume of incomplete construction again increased by 10 percent compared to the first six months of 1989 and was about R212 billion.

Transportation

Shipment of freight by common carrier is characterized by the data in Table 17.

Table 17. Shipment of Freight by Common Carrier

Type of Transport	First Six Months of 1990	
	in millions of tons	in percentage of the first six months of 1989
Transportation—total	6,090	95.0
Including:		
Rail	1,956	96.9
Pipeline	617	98.7
Sea	117	93.5
Internal waterways	280	97.3
Motor vehicle	3,119	93.0
Air	1.4	90.0

The reduction in the volume of shipments is to a certain extent due to a decrease in the production of a number of types of products, among them cement, oil, and oil products.

In addition, a deterioration in the maintenance work of railroads affected the activities of rail transport. Rolling stock utilization decreased. Locomotive productivity decreased by 1.6 percent; freight car productivity fell by 1.9 percent; and the average train weight (gross) decreased by 1.3 percent (by 42 tons). Due to delays at technical stations and loading operations on tracks of the USSR Ministry of Railways, freight car turn-around time slowed down by 3.4 hours. Processing of railcars on spur tracks of enterprises and organizations of individual ministries and departments also slowed down: by 0.84 hours (by 10.6 percent) for the USSR Ministry of

Heavy Machine Building; by 0.67 hours (by 14.9 percent) for the USSR Gosstroy; and by 0.45 hours (by 6.5 percent) for the USSR Ministry of the Atomic Power Industry.

As a result, a considerable amount of freight is not being shipped out that is ready for shipment and located at loading sites on the line. As of the end of May, remaining freight amounted to almost 80 million tons (other than construction limestone), which corresponds to 7.2 days of operation of railroads at the established shipment amounts; 16.5 days for timber freight; 13.7 days for iron and manganese ore; 13.6 days for non-ferrous ore and sulfuric raw materials; 12.0 days for flux; 11.3 days for bituminous coal; 11.2 days for refractory materials; and 9.4 days for grain and milling products.

For 14 types of freight for which a state order has been established, it was 98.2 percent fulfilled.

The amount of unshipped import cargo at sea ports of the USSR Ministry of the Maritime Fleet (in warehouses and on ships) declined from 2.7 million tons at the end of May to 1.7 million tons at the end of June. However, the cargo that remains is still quite considerable: 1 million tons of grain, 10,600 tons of food products, and 37,800 tons of refrigerated cargo. A considerable amount of imported cargo has piled up at ports: Novorossiysk (243,100 tons), Leningrad (218,400 tons), Ilichevsk (186,300 tons), Novotallinnskiy (154,600 tons), and Odessa (147,000 tons).

Remaining export cargo at ports of the USSR Ministry of the Maritime Fleet increased from 4.1 million tons at the end of May to 4.2 million tons at the end of June. The largest amount of export cargo was at the ports of Izamil (425,700 tons), Mariupol (348,900 tons), Yuzhnyy (322,300 tons), and Reni (310,200 tons).

There were significant material losses in transportation in connection with accidents with rolling stock. During the period January-June, 11,800 freight cars were damaged in rail transport on tracks of the USSR Ministry of Railway just during shunting, loading, and unloading operations, with a total material damage amounting to R1.2 million. There was damage to 40 seagoing vessels (R1,808,000 in damage), 40 river and lake vessels (R159,000), and 87 airplanes and helicopters.

USSR Foreign Economic Ties

An increase in import purchases with a considerable reduction in the volume of profits from sale of goods is being observed in the country's foreign economic activities. As a result, the country's negative foreign trade balance increased more than 2.5-fold compared to the corresponding period last year.

The volume of import-export operations during the first six months of the year is characterized by the data in Table 18.

Table 18. Volume of Import-Export Operations (in current prices; billions of foreign currency rubles)

	First 6 Months of 1989	First Six Months of 1990	First Six Months of 1990 as a Percentage of First Six Months of 1989
Exports	33.4	30.3	90.7
Imports	35.9	36.7	102.2
Foreign trade turnover	69.3	67.0	96.6
Balance	-2.5	-6.4	

As before, the member countries of CEMA remain the leading partners of the USSR in trade operations; they account for 55 percent of the country's total volume of import-export operations. Export deliveries to CEMA countries declined by 10.2 percent in the first six months of the year and amounted to R16.9 billion. Goods amounting to R19.6 billion were purchased in these countries, which is 93.9 percent of the level of the first six months of 1989.

In the USSR's trade with capitalist countries, an increase in indebtedness for deliveries of imported goods is seen. Goods amounting to R11.5 billion (a decrease of 8.2 percent) have been exported to these countries; goods amounting to R15.0 billion (an increase of 13.3 percent) have been imported.

Despite an increase in the number of participants in foreign trade activity, the structure of exports has not changed. The quality of products being exported, especially machine building products, is at a low level, which does not make it possible to increase exports of machinery and equipment. Fuel and raw material goods remain the main item of our export deliveries; they account for more than 50 percent of the country's total volume of exports.

Imports of consumer goods were increased to stabilize the situation in the consumer market; these goods account for 35 percent of the total volume of imports. Delivery of goods to the national economy through imports in the first six months of the year is characterized by the data in Table 19.

Table 19. Delivery of Goods to the National Economy Through Imports

	First Six Months of 1989	First Six Months of 1990	First Six Months of 1990 as a Percentage of First Six Months of 1989
Coffee beans, in thousands of tons	35.8	43.8	122
Tea, in thousands of tons	100.3	101.8	101

Table 19. Delivery of Goods to the National Economy Through Imports (Continued)

	First Six Months of 1989	First Six Months of 1990	First Six Months of 1990 as a Percentage of First Six Months of 1989
Raw sugar, in millions of tons	3.8	3.2	85
Meat and meat products, in thousands of tons	305.8	529.1	173
Butter, in thousands of tons	158.8	194.1	122
Citrus, in thousands of tons	214.0	244.6	114
Vegetable oil, in thousands of tons	515.3	539.3	105
Cotton cloth and furniture fabric, in millions of meters	86.6	107.7	124
Silk cloth, in millions of meters	20.4	27.9	137
Garments, in millions of rubles	571.7	430.1	75
Knitted wear, in millions of rubles	322.6	263.5	82
Hosiery, in millions of rubles	48.5	66.0	136
Leather footwear, in millions of pairs	31.4	35.3	112
Furniture, in millions of rubles	288.4	217.6	75
Medicines, in millions of rubles	564.1	849.3	151

The volume of product deliveries through commodity exchange (barter, transactions without monetary payment) accomplished by enterprises and state and cooperative organizations with enterprises, organizations, and companies of foreign countries is increasing. In the first six months of the year, exports of products using commodity exchange operations amounted to R0.9 billion (3.1 percent of the USSR's total exports), and goods amounting to R0.4 billion (1.1 percent) were imported. The same traditional products—fuel and raw materials (67 percent)—are predominant in exports using commodity exchange operations.

As of 1 July, there were more than 15,000 participants in foreign economic activities registered. There have been 1,830 joint ventures created involving firms and organizations of foreign countries.

[Signed] USSR State Committee for Statistics

Abalkin Discusses Economic Basis of Union Treaty

904A0541A Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No. 32, 11-17 Aug 90 pp 1, 2

[Interview with L. Abalkin, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers Commission for Economic Reform, by L. Zhelnorova; place and date of interview not given: "Program of Maximum Consent"]

[Text] *How is the work on preparation of the conditions for transition to the market going? We know that several programs of transition to the market of different economic commissions—of the USSR Council of Ministers, the Russian Supreme Soviet, and the president—are being drawn up. Will consensus be achieved?*

L. Abalkin, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers Commission for Economic Reform, and member of the working group for preparation of the concept of the Union program of transition to a market economy as the basis of a Union treaty, replies.

[Abalkin] The program we were instructed to draw up by the USSR Supreme Soviet—and it was that body that appointed the government and it is to that body that the latter is subordinate—will be presented by 1 September. Naming all its authors is not only difficult but simply impossible: they include people working in the central economic departments and scientists, leaders of enterprises and a variety of unions and associations, deputies, and members of the government. Everyone has contributed to this program his drop of honey—like bees to the combs.

Representatives of the governments of all the Union republics without exception—specifically the following deputy chairmen of the councils of ministers: of the Ukrainian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic], V. Fokin; the Georgian SSR, O. Kakauridze; and the SSR of Moldova, T. Tampiza, and other leaders profoundly knowledgeable as to the state of affairs in their republics—are participating at the culminating stage in the elaboration of the program and its most important sections.

The decision to create the presidential group was an important step toward concord and a manifestation of political wisdom and farsightedness. It is important to synchronize as much as possible the concept elaborated by this group and the practical measures proposed by the government.

[Zhelnorova] Is concord being achieved easily?

[Abalkin] No, it is a difficult path. Diktat and the imposition of opinions are impermissible here. Reasonable compromise is needed. It is at times necessary to opt for by no means the shortest path for the sake of achieving the parties' consent. But in politics, as distinct from mathematics, a straight line is not always the shortest path. Without public consent any path exists only in the abstract.

[Zhelnorova] And if individual developers of the program insist on their proposal? Who is the arbiter then?

[Abalkin] We speak honestly about the opposite viewpoints in our program. We point out that consensus was not reached on a given issue and that there are two or three different viewpoints. Let the Supreme Soviet be the arbiter and assume the search for ways toward agreement.

[Zhelnorova] Are we not about to adopt a Union treaty prematurely? Some republics have already determined their sovereignty, others are still seeking that road. Will the Union treaty not turn out to be an impetuous document which some republic or other will refuse to accept?

[Abalkin] Adoption of the Union treaty cannot, in my view, be postponed. The current situation may be called anarchy inasmuch as there is no common interpretation of current laws. In such a situation chaos could ensue. I regard the republics' decision on sovereignty, first, as their desire to embark on discussion of the Union treaty as independent subjects and to sit down at the negotiating table without prior conditions. And second, these declarations need to be seen as the republics' proposals pertaining to the Union treaty.

Delay in its conclusion and running in place are fraught with the most negative consequences. On the one hand Union laws are in effect, on the other republic laws. For example, a state farm has decided to ship its product to another republic, which according to Union laws is permissible but according to some republic laws prohibited. The grounds for conspiracy, the bribing of officials, and an arbitrary interpretation of the laws arise. Whether to subscribe to the Union treaty or not—each republic will decide this independently.

[Zhelnorova] Why, in speaking of the market, are representatives of the government intimidating the people with such negative consequences as unemployment and price rises and remaining silent about the pluses—the considerably greater opportunity for self-realization and the possible increase in income?

[Abalkin] The reason here, it seems to me, is more a psychological one. We naturally had no desire to intimidate anyone. But against the background of the extensively publicized proposals for an easy and simple resolution of all problems without affecting prices and the current living standard of all strata of the population without exception, the government program has seemed to many people unduly gloomy. But understand us also. The leadership of the country has promised people so many times a happy life "in the near future" that no one takes this seriously any longer. We deliberately wanted to restrain ourselves, be as honest as could be, and not gloss over the difficulties. But the sense of proportion evidently betrayed us here.

[Zhelnorova] The main emphasis now is being put on a reduction in the budget deficit. At this transitional moment, when the country is encountering many difficulties, would it not be more prudent to "freeze" it temporarily until the fruit of the new economic relations appears?

[Abalkin] The budget deficit is itself a cause of these difficulties and the profound disproportions, including those on the consumer market. And we need to combat not the effects but the causes.

I would like to emphasize particularly the close interplay of the budget deficit and credit resources; in reducing this deficit we will increase credit resources. And the basis of enterprise is precisely credit—the instrument of choice of gifted entrepreneurs. Without credit the majority of people will be unable to begin a new venture because they lack resources of their own. The large-scale denationalization of property is unrealistic without it also.

All Western experts whom we are consulting regard either the total elimination of the deficit or its reduction to a minimum (no more than two percent of GNP) as an indispensable condition of economic recovery and a prerequisite of all other reforms.

This will also sound gloomy, perhaps, but we need to prepare for a sharp tightening of financial policy and a reduction in government subsidies and budget appropriations. There will be no recovery without this.

[Zhelnorova] Why should we not at this critical moment touch our gold reserves?

[Abalkin] We are doing so, and appreciably, in order to increase imports of consumer goods. But we are operating under the strict conditions of the world market. Any increase in gold sales immediately causes its price to drop.

[Zhelnorova] I know that measures have been introduced to the program for transition to the market pertaining to a change in the structure of management of the country's economy. Does this mean that some ministries will be cut back?

[Abalkin] The elimination or conversion of ministries should be the logical culmination of natural economic processes. Concerns, associations, and joint-stock companies, which will begin to assume the organization and coordination of enterprise activity, are being formed.

[Zhelnorova] Will changes be made to the composition of the government?

[Abalkin] I will express my personal viewpoint: Such changes are essential. Aside from the reorganization of the ministries itself, this is connected with the fact that a number of members of the government will resign on health grounds or from a feeling of it being impossible to display their knowledge under the new conditions.

[Zhelnorova] Do you intend holding a referendum to determine how many people, and not only their representatives in the USSR Supreme Soviet, support this program, in order that each individual may himself express his attitude toward it?

[Abalkin] As you recall, the government submitted such a proposal. However, it could not be accepted. Why? If the people supported the program—the nonsupport option is clear: a change of government, a different program—the government would then have acquired independence in its actions, independence of parliament even. This prospect did not apparently suit everyone....

I would remind you that, according to the constitution, the decision on the holding of a referendum is the prerogative of the Congress of People's Deputies. But there are, after all, other methods of learning public opinion. According to quite reliable studies conducted by the center led by Academician T. Zaslavskaya, two-thirds of the population steadily support a transition to the market.

[Zhelnorova] Why should you not invite in overseas economists to assist?

[Abalkin] On all projects we have of late been conducting expert appraisals with leading specialists of the West. Our decisions pertaining to antitrust legislation, small businesses, and joint-stock companies have received very sound advice from Western experts. We are not in the practice of spending foreign currency on this: The participation of Western specialists is financed by government bodies, banks, and various foundations, specifically the Soros Foundation.

Abalkin Discusses Market Transition, Guidelines

LD1408123490 Moscow TASS in English 1222 GMT 14 Aug 90

[Text] Moscow August 14 TASS—Reaching agreement on the main guidelines for the transition to the market and dealing with related problems is crucial for the Soviet economy now, said Leonid Abalkin, a Soviet deputy prime minister who heads the State Commission for Economic Reform.

Speaking in an interview with the newspaper PRAVITELSTVENNYY VESTNIK today, Abalkin stressed that it must be a blueprint for the transition to the market economy, laying the foundation for a new Union treaty. Apparently it should outline fundamental and long- term measures as a basis for taking political decisions.

The questions remains whether we move towards a single nationwide market or set the goal of creating 15 independent markets, divided by customs barriers from each other. The way this question is dealt with is crucial for the solution of many other problems including a single monetary system, a central bank, customs policy, and single principles of building the taxing system.

"It is fair to say that no final solutions on a number of major issues have been reached so far," Abalkin said.

He admitted to a delay in preparing new economic conditions for next year. The deputy prime minister expressed the view that the government program, considered by the Supreme Soviet in May, will be drastically changed.

Major changes may be connected with the vigorous push by Union republics for self-determination and sovereignty. After discussing the government program several republics declared their sovereignty and passed relevant declarations. "We cannot but take them into account. Although they are mere declarations so far, they have yet to be put on a legal basis which becomes reality only after the signing of the new Union treaty."

Stabilising the consumer market and filling shops with goods at current prices is an insoluble task, Abalkin said. He emphasised that this was a scientifically proven and indisputable fact, not just his own point of view.

Abalkin pointed to the need to find effective means to offset the effect of the possible price hikes on those categories of the population who cannot protect themselves in conditions of the market.

Ryzhkov, Mining Officials Discuss Coal Industry

LD1408095190 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0800 GMT 14 Aug 90

[Text] Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and leaders of production associations, combines, works, and institutes of the USSR Ministry of the Coal Industry representing the majority of the country's coal regions, met yesterday. The meeting supplemented, as it were, a similar meeting with directors of coal enterprises in the Donbas which took place at the beginning of the month.

Those who spoke were unanimous in their concern for the fate of the industry, and noted that democratization in the economy and the transition to market relations should not ruin the integrity of one of the bases of the country's power engineering—the coal industry. Detailed consideration was given to such a fundamental issue of the industry's further development as changes to the price formation system in the coal industry without which a transition to the market is impossible. A significant place in the exchange of opinions was given to problems related to an acceleration of the industry's social development, meeting the state's coal requirements, and material and technical supply. It was stressed that preserving the unity of the fuel and power complex, which enjoys state support, is in line with the interests of the miners' labor collectives in conditions of the transition to the market and that it should be closely linked to the requirements of the country's socioeconomic development.

Concluding the meeting, Nikolay Ryzhkov stressed the need for a careful attitude to all issues concerning the development of the coal industry as a base industry of the national economy, and for the consistent solution of the social problems that have accumulated there which are giving rise to tension in labor collectives.

Gosplan Official Addresses Conversion Conference

LD1408171790 Moscow TASS in English 1653 GMT 14 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondents Vyacheslav Akimov and Mikhail Ivanov]

[Text] Moscow August 14 TASS—The Soviet Government's conceptual approach to the implementation of the munitions industry's conversion was described by first deputy chairman of the USSR State Planning Committee [Gosplan] Valentin Smyslov here today.

He addressed the international conference "Conversion: Economic Adjustments in an Era of Arms Reduction."

The forum was organised by the United Nations Department for Disarmament Affairs and co-sponsored by the Soviet Peace Fund and the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions.

Smyslov noted that the USSR has drafted a program for the conversion of the munitions industry which will soon be examined by President Mikhail Gorbachev.

The conversion program plans to concentrate the efforts of the defence complex on three key areas.

Firstly, it is planned to raise the people's living standards by boosting the output of non-edible goods and the production of equipment to provide the Soviet people with foodstuffs, clothing, and housing.

Secondly, the munitions industry will help ensure scientific and technical progress in the key industries and the economy as a whole.

Thirdly, provision is made to develop new materials and technologies. Their importance in ensuring scientific and technical progress has sharply grown.

Conversion is being implemented at over 400 Defence Ministry enterprises and more than 100 enterprises of other industries, Smyslov said.

About 50 percent of munitions factories in the USSR will cut by over 20 percent the production of military hardware this year. Forty munitions factories will be fully switched to a peaceful footing.

"Conditions at enterprises undergoing conversion will deteriorate in the period of transition to market relations," Smyslov noted. "Therefore, we decided to draft a bill on conversion this year."

The bill should delineate the responsibility of the state, enterprises, and workers for setting off negative consequences of conversion.

Truck Production Association To Sell Securities

PM1408151890 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 6 Aug 90

[Report by Leonid Khatayevich from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] Many of you will know, comrades, that the USSR Government has approved a resolution on joint-stock companies and securities. However, despite the fact that 600 million rubles [R] worth of labor collective shares and R400 million worth of enterprise shares have already been issued in the country, it would be premature to speak of progress. The point is that essentially these are not proper shares since they do not enable their holders to manage the enterprises in question. Nonetheless, more and more enterprise collectives are trying to switch to a joint-stock footing because they see it as the only way to gain real independence.

One of the country's biggest enterprises, the Kama Large-Capacity Truck Production Association [KAMAZ], has also set itself this aim. Our special correspondent reports from Naberezhnyye Chelny:

[Reporter] The reason for our visit to KAMAZ was provided by the USSR Council of Ministers resolution which I have here. It was signed recently by N.I. Ryzhkov. It is the first resolution issued in our country which proposes transforming a state enterprise, namely the KAMAZ production association, into a joint-stock company. The value of its fixed capital is R5 billion.

This is the value of the KAMAZ plants of which there are 18 both here in Naberezhnyye Chelny and elsewhere. The plants and the city itself with its housing developments, schools, and stores total R5 billion. These are the fruits of the work over the past two decades of the Komsomol [All-Union Lenin Communist Youth League] volunteers of the early seventies who have grown up and aged. They put in a great deal of work for the state and for themselves, or so they thought at first. And what did they get? A production line which has been producing the same truck for the past 15 years; a city in which one in three families has to wait for years for decent housing; a city where there has never been a theater, for instance. What there is, however, is complex interethnic relations. [video shows a sign reading: "Protest hunger strike against the inequitable position of the Tatar people in a republic where there are no rights. We demand the status of a union republic for Tatarstan!"; video then shows two people sitting in front of a tent, with signs reading: "Protest hunger strike"]

Both the plants and the city are tired, tired of waiting for the promised bright future.

What does destatized ownership, joint-stock ownership offer them? Will they gain control? In the literal sense of the word yes, if they buy shares. And if they don't? Well, they will at least know who is answerable. Anonymous functionaries will be replaced by a shareholders' council. Incidentally, the KAMAZ collective will have 25.5 percent of the votes on this council.

The KAMAZ shares—50 million of them costing R100 each—can be acquired by KAMAZ supplier enterprises, foreign companies, any legal entity. They will be sold here. [video shows sign on a building reading: "Bank for the Development of the USSR Automobile Industry. Kama Branch. KAMAZAVTOBANK. Naberezhnyye Chelny"] The R5 billion obtained as a result of the sale of shares will serve as a cash injection with which to rapidly modernize the enterprise and give the city a human face. By the year 2000 the joint-stock capital may be doubled and that would mean new investments, tremendous new potential.

Further on Shareholding

PM1408152690 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 7 Aug 90

[Report by Leonid Khatayevich from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] We have already reported to what extent workers link the future economic independence of their enterprises with a switch to shareholding. But how will the new mechanism operate? Our correspondent reports from the KAMAZ plant at Naberezhnyye Chelny where a joint-stock company is being formed:

[Reporter] When foreigners come here to the KAMAZ plant at Naberezhnyye Chelny—and quite a few of them are coming—they look at the KAMAZ and assess its potential with a view to purchasing shares of the new joint-stock company. They want certain guarantees. And among these guarantees almost always the question arises: What guarantee do we have that the Soviet worker in the joint-stock company in which the foreign company has invested its money will work with the same productivity and quality as our workers back at home?

A quest for such guarantees is currently under way at the KAMAZ. In your opinion, what constitutes these guarantees?

[G.G. Zamoldinov, plant director] I have always believed and will continue to believe that progress is possible only if the working people are the proprietors.

[Reporter] The KAMAZ frame pressing plant employs 8,000 people. The shift is about to begin. The plant's fixed capital is valued at 520 million rubles [R]. How and to what extent can individuals own these millions?

Viktor Pavlovich Babushkin's team in the extrusion shop, operating under the lease system, is in charge of two powerful automatic presses. Their value totals R10 million. R10 million divided among 20 people. The team are millionaires. There are 18 teams of millionaires in the extrusion shop. All the equipment has been handed over to leaseholders. They sell their output to the plant and pay for wear and tear, for materials, and other resources. What is left is their wages. A job which was previously done by 40 people is now done by 20 in Babushkin's team. And they have started earning two or three times as much as before.

[V.P. Babushkin, team leader] Now people come to work not simply to clock in or to put in an appearance. In the past people used to say: My clock card earns me R250. Now people come to work to earn money.

[Reporter] This is regarding ownership as a tool.

[Babushkin] There are people who are asking to be allowed to work under the lease system. They know they will have to work hard, but they want to. But there are people who do not want to do this.

[Zamoldinov] Those opposed to leasing are probably above all those who are unable or unwilling to work properly.

[Reporter] And while today it is still possible to choose, the KAMAZ joint-stock company is exacting toward everyone. This is why there is a leaseholding plant, a cooperative plant, and an independent company at the KAMAZ today. KAMAZ is learning to live along new lines. We will tell you about that in our next report.

Agricultural

Wheat Harvest of 93 Million Tonnes Expected

LD1508050890 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0400 GMT 15 Aug 90

[Excerpts] The problem of harvesting and storing the rich harvest of cereals and vegetables continues to remain at the center of press attention. [passage omitted]

As KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA writes, the unprecedented amount of grain is sticking in the throat of our already gasping economy. Many elevators are just about to be filled to the brim. The newspaper cites the opinion of experts who believe, and I quote: In the USSR the harvest of wheat this year is expected to be 93 million tonnes. [passage omitted]

Grain Imports Delayed in Novorossiysk

PM1408105890 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 7 Aug 90

[Report by Valeriy Golubev from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Reporter] "Vremya" is reporting from the Novorossiysk Maritime Port at the quay where ships are being unloaded which have arrived from abroad with imported grain, or feed grain to be precise. Vast quantities of this grain are processed by the port. Suffice it to

say that since the beginning of the year more than 4.5 million tonnes of grain have been unloaded here. A high unloading rate means a big turnover—a big freight turnover for the port—and naturally also a high income.

However, at present, when two flows of grain have clashed here—grain arriving from abroad and grain arriving from the Kuban where 10 million tonnes of grain have already been harvested—a complicated situation has arisen. Freightcars are needed for both the grain from abroad and the grain from the Kuban.

What is to be done in this situation? I wanted to put this question to the railroad and dock workers.

[V.L. Bykov, port manager] It seems to me that the Ministry of Railways, aware of the prospects for the 1990 harvest, did not mobilize and supply enough freightcars to ship out the remains of imported grain.

[Reporter] How much does it cost per day, for instance, if a foreign ship has to wait for the grain to be unloaded?

[Bykov] A foreign ship costs on average between 12,000 and 15,000 rubles [R] per day.

[Reporter] In foreign currency?

[Bykov] Yes, in foreign currency.

[V.S. Chernousov, railroad station deputy chief] I believe that it was bad work on the part of the upper echelons of the ministry which resulted in ships with imported grain arriving here in July. This situation means now that the Krasnodar branch and the North Caucasus Railroad have to operate under great pressure, setting aside freightcars for rather poor quality imported grain instead of the golden Kuban and Rostov grain.

[Reporter] Before the end of August a further six ships will have to be unloaded here. That represents several hundred freightcars which could be used to save at least some of the Russian grain which lies exposed to wind and rain on threshing floors. Its losses have already exceeded the imports. Who will answer for this?

Military Aircraft To Help Ship Kuban Harvest

PM1408112490 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 8 Aug 90

[Report by V. Golubev from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Reporter] Will it be possible to save the truly unprecedented Kuban harvest? This is a question which does not concern grain growers alone. Orchards and vegetable plots are laden with fruit and vegetables, and the problems are the same—a shortage of trucks, railroad freightcars, and storage facilities.

In this complex situation, the region's consumer cooperative union is displaying resourcefulness and initiative. Determined to procure 120,000 tonnes of fruit and vegetable produce, the consumer cooperatives are dispatching it primarily to remote areas.

[Yu.M. Palastrov, deputy chairman of the kray consumer cooperative union] We are even having to resort to cooperation with the military. In view of current efforts toward conversion, we have reached agreement with them to transport our fruit and vegetable produce to the Far North in their aircraft. Naturally by our standards this is expensive—a flight hour is somewhere in the region of 5,000 rubles. However our aim is not just profit. The main concern is feeding the population in the Far North.

[Reporter] Yuriy Maksimovich, one more question. The market system is approaching. Are Kuban consumer cooperatives ready for the switch to the market system, and how will this be reflected in the supply of fruit and vegetable produce above all to the population?

[Palastrov] Valeriy Aleksandrovich, you know that the strength and the stable development of the consumer cooperatives are a result of the fact that they have been operating in market conditions for a long time, especially as regards their procurement and processing activities. Here market relations have reigned for a long time. Today we are trying to assess how the consumer cooperatives will fit into the market situation in the country as a whole, and we believe that this will lead to a further improvement of their work in supplying the population with both food and industrial goods.

Kamchatka Thermal Springs Resources Underutilized

PM1408112090 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0830 GMT 8 Aug 90

[Report by V. Plotskiy from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [Announcer] In the North and the Far East of the country the situation as regards fresh vegetable supplies is very poor, just like it was a year ago, or 10 or 20 years ago. Here is a report from Kamchatka:

[Reporter] A glance at this market—it is the main market in Petropavlovsk-Kamchatskiy—will tell you that everything is available here: melons, grapes, pears, and apples. During the summer there are enough cucumbers, tomatoes, and strawberries on the market. The prices are another matter, however. Vegetables can at the moment also be bought at stores in the oblast center. However, as soon as summer ends an acute shortage of vegetables, which are so essential for the inhabitants of the north, sets in. This situation has been recurring year after year for decades.

Where does the solution to this problem lie? Kamchatka has virtually inexhaustible resources of thermal springs. Unfortunately at present there is only one specialized sovkhoz [state farm] which runs on the Paratunka thermal springs. Naturally it cannot provide enough vegetables for the inhabitants of the oblast center. Yet it is nearly 10 years now since the major Verkhne-Paratunskoye [Upper Paratunka] thermal springs deposit, located only 12 km from the Termalnyy

Sovkhoz, was discovered and earmarked for development. During these years more than 100 million cubic meters of hot water have gushed from its 14 wells without being utilized. During these years leisure facilities, workers' sanatoria and health centers, and children's health complexes have mushroomed around the sovkhoz. And at present the demand for hot water on the Middle Paratunka exceeds supply more than twofold. What is the problem? Why has a pipeline not been built from the new deposit to where the water is being utilized?

It cannot be claimed that silence has reigned around this problem over the past nine years. A bureaucratic storm is still raging around the Paratunka. Meanwhile, the construction of the first stage of the pipeline has begun. So far only 41,000 rubles [R] of the R3.8 million allocated for this purpose have been utilized. The pipeline is being built by the Kamchatka agro-industrial construction administration.

[M.G. Redkin, chief of the Kamchatka thermal geological drilling administration] At the rate at which our main subcontractors are working at the moment, this project will take 50 to 60 years to complete.

[Reporter] What needs to be done?

[Redkin] I am convinced that our oblast soviet authorities, to whom we have appealed repeatedly over the years, must take energetic steps to resolve this matter. Unfortunately, so far no progress has been made.

[Reporter] What kind of management is this? While more that 100 million cubic meters of water with a temperature of up to 80 degrees Centigrade has flowed into rivers on the Upper Paratunka over the past nine years, the Termalnyy Sovkhoz is experiencing an acute shortage of heat.

When will the bureaucratic storm finally subside, and when will the problem of summer if not winter vegetable supplies to the inhabitants of the North be finally resolved? These are questions for the new composition of the Kamchatka Oblast soviet and its deputies.

State Purchases Orenburg Oblast Grain Harvest

LD1408143790 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1100 GMT 14 Aug 90

[Text] Orenburg peasants have sold the state the first million tonnes of grain. The oblast's farms have yielded the long-awaited harvest. In a number of rayons, the threshing yield from winter crops is approaching 40 quintals per hectare.

The harvest is proceeding in very difficult conditions hampered by constant rains. Work is being slowed by shortfalls in deliveries of accumulators for combines and of headers from the Rostselmash association to the oblast. There is a shortage of motor vehicles to transport the grain away and a number of Leningrad's vehicle pools are delaying the dispatch of about 2,000 trucks.

Novgorod Oblast Declares State of Emergency

LD1408130490 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1000 GMT 14 Aug 90

[Summary] A state of emergency in Novgorod Oblast collective and state farms has been declared. The harvest yield for all crops is good this year, but poor organization by Soviet and economic bodies and the shortage of manpower and transportation resources produced this alarming situation. Urgent additional measures have been drawn up to save the harvest.

Scientific

Cosmonauts Continue Research, Grow Crystals

LD1408121790 Moscow TASS in English 1106 GMT 14 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondent from the Mission Control Center]

[Text] Moscow August 14 TASS—Soviet cosmonauts Gennadiy Manakov and Gennadiy Strekalov continue the planned research and experiments on board the orbital complex Mir.

In accordance with the program for the study of materials in space, they launched the first experiment on the Zona-2 technological installation. The purpose of the experiment is to obtain experimental batches of germanium and silicon mono-crystals, both in a vacuum and in an argon medium.

Experiments to study the effect of open space on structural materials and elements of radio-electronic equipment are going on. Information on the condition of specimens, which are attached to the outer surface of the Kvant-2 module, is being regularly transmited through telemetric channels to earth and is being processed.

Under the medical check-up plan, the two cosmonauts will today undergo an examination of the blood-circulation system to determine the efficiency of the means to prevent the adverse effect of zero gravity on the human organism.

According to reports from orbit and telemetric date, the flight of the manned orbital complex Mir is proceeding normally.

The two cosmonauts are in good health and are feeling well.

Medical State of Old, New 'Mir' Crews Detailed

LD1508063990 Moscow TASS in English 0629 GMT 15 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondent Rena Kuznetsova]

[Text] Moscow August 15 TASS—Man's adaptation to extreme conditions of zero-gravity acquires special urgency today, Soviet Cosmonaut Valeriy Polyakov,

deputy director of the Soviet Health Ministry's Institute of Medico-Biological Problems, told TASS. This is primarily connected with the man's long stay in space.

"As a doctor I think that the trend towards creating orbital complexes with replaceable crews, which has recently developed in the Soviet national space program, has proven itself viable at this stage," Polyakov noted.

Doctors are generally happy with the crew of the seventh main expedition to the Soviet orbital complex Mir. The crew blasted off on August 1, 1990. Polyakov stressed that the two men had absolute psychological compatibility which is very important for long expeditions. Mission commander Gennadiy Manakov, who is the space rookie, endures zero-gravity well. "He seems to be a man who has worked in space all his life," Polyakov continued.

Solovyov and Balandin, who returned to earth on August 9, have already gone on walks, Polyakov said. Solovyov had insignificant deviations in the vestibular apparatus but everything quickly returned to normal. Doctors do not regard the deviations as hazardous.

New Mir Docking Equipment Reported

LD1408164190 Moscow TASS in English 1549 GMT 14 Aug 90

[By UKRINFORM-TASS correspondent Mark Khabinskiy]

[Text] Kharkov August 14 TASS—Systems developed by Soviet scientists have slashed the fuel consumption during maneuvering and docking of new space modules like Kvant and Kristall with the Mir space station.

Systems to control such flights have been developed by specialists from the Kharkov-based Electropribor Scientific-Industrial Amalgamation.

Electropribor researchers used flexible docking systems to orient these huge flying laboratories with scientific equipment, materials, and life-support equipment.

"No one except the Soviet Union has deployed orbital stations in space," Electropribor director-general Professor Yakov Aizenberg told TASS.

"We pioneered the expansion of space stations with modules and now lead in the sphere. Americans have only just begun developing their long-term manned space station Freedom."

"Electronic systems developed by our specialists equal the best Western equipment in reliability and speed. They have a triple safety margin which is even greater in some cases. If some communications channels, subsystems, or elements fail, they will be replaced with reserve ones and electronic control will work reliably and consistently," he said.

A module travelling in space at a speed of tens of thousands of kilometers per hour slows down to just several centimeters per second by docking time.

Kristall docked with Mir so softly that the Mir crew did not even notice the slightest jerk.

In order to economise fuel, the craft has to near the tail of the orbital station with minimum braking ignitions which use up a lot of energy.

Sometimes it is more expedient to move [word indistinct] by intertia along its old trajectory, waiting for the best juxta-positioning of the crafts. At the right moment it takes up the best position in just a couple of movements.

Kharkov specialists have been able to halve the time of such braking ignitions.

'Progress M-4' Supply Spacecraft Launched

LD1508080690 Moscow TASS in English 0757 GMT 15 Aug 90

[Text] Moscow August 15 TASS—In accordance with the space research program of the Mir complex, the Soviet Union launched an unmanned freight spacecraft, Progress M-4, at 08:01 Moscow time today [0401 GMT].

The vehicle is to bring expendable materials and a variety of supplies to the manned complex Mir.

Progress M-4 was put into orbit with the following parameters:
- maximum distance from the surface of earth 235 km;
- minimum distance from the surface of earth 186 km;
- period of revolution 88.5 minutes;
- inclination 51.6 degrees.

According to telemetric information, the on-board systems of the unmanned cargo spacecraft are functioning normally.

Military

General Makashov's New Appointment Refuted

LD1508081690 Moscow TASS in English 0809 GMT 15 Aug 90

[By TASS diplomatic correspondent]

[Text] Moscow August 15 TASS—In a telephone conversation with a TASS correspondent, a Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman today refuted reports by Western sources that Colonel-General Albert Makashov, commander of the Volga-Urals military district, had been appointed chief of Soviet military specialists in the Iraqi Republic. He also refuted the Soviet central newspaper KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA referring to these reports.

"This version does not reflect the reality," the spokesman said. He referred to information from the USSR Defence Ministry.

The spokesman said he learned from the Defence Ministry that General Makashov remains commander of the Volga-Urals military district and that his transfer to another post has not been considered.

Glavpur Information on Conscripts Disclosed

90UM0809A Moscow TRUD in Russian 4 Aug 90 p 2

[Article by L. Ushakov, candidate of historical sciences and director of the Center for Research in Social and Psychological Problems of the Main Political Administration of the Soviet Army and Navy: "Who Is Under Arms Today"]

[Text] **Speaking recently at the 28th CPSU Congress, Marshal of the Soviet Union D.T. Yazov, USSR minister of defense, invited journalists to analyze today's conscript contingent. Since that day, the editorial office has been receiving frequent calls from readers demanding explanations and details.**

We asked L. Ushakov, candidate of historical sciences and director of the Center for Research in Social and Psychological Problems of the Main Political Administration [Glavpur] of the Soviet Army and Navy, to respond to their questions.

Everyone knows that military service is no piece of cake, especially during the initial months when, as psychologists say, "dynamic stereotypes are broken"—i.e., habits which have become fixed, character traits, and life style. A young man can endure all of this far more easily if he approaches service with a desire for and an understanding of his duty obligation. Studies show that, whereas in 1975 77.6 percent of individuals polled served with such a disposition, 66.8 percent of servicemen responding to a survey this spring declared they had no interest in serving although they understood the constitutional need for military service.

Positive attitudes toward service are losing ground with pre-conscription- and conscription-age youth. Thus, whereas studies conducted in 1973 show that 1.1 percent of draftees surveyed on the eve of conscription did not desire to serve, and that figure was two percent in 1974 and seven percent in 1979, studies for 1989-1990 show the number of unwilling draftees for Army service as having reached 18 percent of the total number surveyed. Often these are young people from major cities, in particular youth who associate themselves with participation in "movements for national unity" and people's fronts. In Moscow, for example, 47 percent of draftees polled express a desire not to serve in the Army, 38 percent in Leningrad, and one out of five in Frunze.

Another statistic confirms this phenomenon—up to 60 percent of draftees Union-wide obtain draft deferments for a number of reasons; in Moscow only one out of three individuals reports for duty at the time established by law.

The position that parents and friends take with respect to military service has a significant influence on the mood of draftees. Fifty-four percent of young people surveyed noted that there are those among their friends and comrades in school and at the work place who would use any pretext to avoid military service. One of every 10 individuals polled approved of such a feeling on the part of their peers. One out of every three drafted youths notes that his parents do not want him to serve in the Army. Among this portion of draftees the opinion is voiced more often than not that "Army service is a waste of time," that on the large scale of things it will not teach anything. Some draftees are convinced, moreover, that the Army teaches hard drinking and lack of culture.

One of the reasons for the change in attitude of young people toward military service is the fact that the system of universal military obligation has in practice not become obligatory for all. Sociological research conducted in a number of republics shows that 69 percent of those called up for military service in 1988 were workers and peasants. The decision of the First Congress of USSR People's Deputies on releasing students from military service changed the situation. From 80 to 94 percent of the young people arriving at military units in spring of this year were from worker and peasant families.

Changes have also taken place in the draft contingent structure with respect to pursuit engaged in prior to call-up for active duty. Whereas in 1979 working youth comprised 80 percent of the draftees and students 17 percent, today a significant number of young people have not spent any definite time working or attending school prior to conscription. In some regions this category of draftee constitutes over 10 percent. Such a unique "preparatory period" for military service most often has an unfavorable influence on the young individual—he acquires a predominantly negative life experience and becomes accustomed to drinking, smoking, or using narcotics. Studies show that 43 percent of those polled have consumed alcoholic beverages prior to conscription and four percent have used narcotics. Eight percent of draftees note that they have been taken into police custody for various violations of the law.

There is a noticeable tendency today toward increased numbers of Army servicemen with a poor knowledge of Russian language. According to official data, there were over 125,000 such servicemen in the spring of 1989, one-and-a-half times the figure for autumn of 1988 and 12 times greater than 20 years ago. Sociological research this year shows that the number of such individuals among draftees from various regions fluctuates within five to 30 percent. This causes problems in the organization of military and political training, makes their contact with servicemen of other nationalities more

difficult, and leads to their association in isolated micro-groups. Inadequate knowledge of Russian by a certain portion of servicemen has a negative effect on the mutual relations among people in military collectives.

In conclusion, some additional figures: Only 40 percent of individuals surveyed on the eve of conscription engaged in sports; less than half consider themselves prepared for military service; and only 87 percent of conscripts have a high school education.

Of course, all of this has a direct influence on those negative processes for which the Army is criticized today, and entirely justifiably so.

New Air Force Commander Shaposhnikov Interviewed

PM1408105190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Aug 90 Morning Edition p 7

[Interview with Colonel General Ye. Shaposhnikov, commander in chief of the Air Force and USSR deputy defense minister, by V. Litovkin; place and date not specified; under the "Appointments" rubric: "Air Force Commander in Chief"—first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] Colonel General Ye. Shaposhnikov has been appointed commander in chief of the Air Force and USSR deputy defense minister.

[Litovkin] Yevgeniy Ivanovich, you are the youngest commander in chief of the postwar period. How did you manage this?

[Shaposhnikov] Are you saying that someone has pulled strings...? The renowned marshal and I only bear the same surname. There has never been anyone with "influence" among my relatives. I was born into a working class family in 1942 in Rostov Oblast's Bolshoy Log village, Aksayskiy Rayon. My father died at the front a week before the end of the war. My mother had four children.... I don't remember a single summer holiday when I didn't work and earn my clothing for the winter.... I became a pilot for two reasons. There was a flying club near our house.... My elder brother went to navigator school, and I thought that pilots were the best people in the world. I became a fighter pilot and rose up through all the ranks of the service.

Now a word about my family. My wife is a doctor. I have three children. My elder daughter is 22 years old and is a nurse. My son went into medicine this year. My younger daughter is now in ninth grade.

[Litovkin] You have been appointed commander in chief at a difficult time. Military service is declining in prestige, and there is not even the former competition for flying schools in military aviation. What can be done about this?

[Shaposhnikov] Our main task today is to make the Air Force reliable, modern, and strong. How? Military reform presupposes the improvement of several areas: We must introduce common sense to organizational and staff structures, renounce the old dogmas and complexes that have been part of our lives for a long time, and improve combat hardware. But the most important thing is the individual.

For a long time we forgot about the individual amid slogans about combat readiness and loyalty to the motherland—which is no doubt as it should be. We fed him promises. We said wait a while, tomorrow will be better. But things did not get better. People grew tired of empty words. Whereas before roughly 70 percent of the Air Force's capital construction budget was spent on airfields and only 30 percent on people, we have now decided to invert the pyramid and work down from the top to the bottom.

But social protection is a difficult problem. We have outlined a definite program and could have accomplished it within a few years, but the withdrawal of our troops from Mongolia, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia, as well as the impending withdrawal from Germany, puts us in a difficult position. We must really exert ourselves. Nonetheless we will not abandon our goal.

We will combine concern with very strict exactingness. A pilot is a special person: He has to handle highly complex equipment. If a commander fails to take the trouble to instruct him, provide him with everything he needs, and is not responsible for how this man prepares himself for highly complex work in the sky, there will be no results.

[Litovkin] Today both the Army and Air Force are also greatly dependent on the military-industrial complex. Yet it foists defective equipment on them, hence the many accidents and casualties.... How do you intend to combat technocratic diktat?

[Shaposhnikov] Unfortunately, it is most frequently not technical faults that cause aircraft to crash. People's level of instruction and the level of exactingness toward specialists is not yet up to scratch.... As for "diktat," recently the situation has been changing for the better. Whereas previously the military-industrial complex had us in a tough position—take what we give you or else get nothing at all—that is not the situation now. First, competition has developed within the military-industrial complex, for instance between the Mikoyan and Sukhoy experimental design bureaus. They compete among themselves, and that is beneficial for us. We don't just have one thing to choose from as we do from Tupolev when it's a question of large aircraft; we choose what's most suitable.

Second, I dream of a time when all financial resources will be in Air Force hands. We will have them at our disposal and will of course answer for the decisions we adopt. For instance, we will order an aircraft with certain technical parameters. If they are not produced, we'll say: Thanks, guys; take this for your "good intentions" but you won't be getting any more money. Only then will we have businesslike relations.

[Litovkin] Are you still flying despite becoming commander in chief?

[Shaposhnikov] The profession of fighter pilot is in my blood. I have flown MiG's all my life. Now I only dream of the skies. There is simply no time for flying.

Airborne Troop Chief Discusses Interethnic Issues

PM1508103090 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 8 Aug 90 First Edition p 1

[Interview with Colonel General V. Achalov, member of the CPSU Central Committee and commander of the airborne troops, by Lieutenant Colonel V. Zyubin; place and date not given; under the "Topical Interview" rubric: "On Democracy and Order"—first paragraph is KRASNAYA ZVEZDA introduction]

[Text] Colonel General V. Achalov, member of the CPSU Central Committee and commander of the airborne troops, answers questions from the editorial office.

[Zyubin] Vladislav Alekseyevich, the country needs peace, civil accord, and order for perestroyka to be successful. The Armed Forces are doing quite a lot to achieve this, and particularly the airborne troops under your command. But nevertheless, the situation is not improving to a sufficient extent to eliminate the need to ask you, as a member of the Party Central Committee, the following and perhaps most burning question today: "When will we have order at last?"

[Achalov] You see, perestroyka has created conditions conducive to the birth of national self-awareness. But in a number of republics this has assisted the emergence onto the political arena of sections of nationalistically-minded intelligentsia and dealers from the shadow economy. A large-scale "change of staff" process has begun in republic party organizations, accompanied by the universally notorious search for an "enemy image." The basis for this is the low living standard of many people.

Whereas Karabakh was initially a surprise, subsequent events in Azerbaijan, Armenia, Uzbekistan, and certain other republics revealed identical scenarios as regards the development of the situation. As soon as it became known that a student and an unskilled laborer were responsible for Sumgait and for December 1986 in Alma Ata, it became perfectly clear that we were faced with a new twist in the political crisis because the criminal potential that had formed within the country surged toward political power in an organized way, sometimes operating under the slogans of national rebirth.

[Zyubin] At the 28th congress, your speech in the section on interethnic problems was very warmly received. Could you remind us briefly of what you said?

[Achalov] I said that at this difficult time the party should not split into factions and blocs, into national camps and sectarian groups, and that we should have the courage to bring about the rebirth of our party of CPSU members as a party of Communists.

This is all the more important as scarcely anyone thought that a rich and multinational great power, with a great intellectual potential at its disposal, would be faced with such trials. We have to defend everything—our historic choice, territorial integrity, the Army, the Constitution, our history, culture, traditions, our rights, freedom, and the lives of the country's citizens. In all probability we will soon have to defend the so-called "new historic community of people"—the Russian-speaking population.

I spoke about the fact that while the idea of the "paramountcy of the indigenous nation" rules, the current floods of refugees will increase. Some 25 million Russians live outside Russia, 2 million Belorussians outside Belorussia, and so on.

Recent events have confirmed this idea.

[Zyubin] You returned quite recently from Osh Oblast.... Well, I don't know, perhaps we could imagine that the action of the airborne troops in recent times could be compared to the action of graphite rods in a nuclear reactor. When the reaction threatens to go out of control, graphite rods are introduced into the reactor. It is the same with the airborne troops: When interethnic conflict threatens to burst out in a social explosion, airborne troops are called in for assistance. If you agree with this comparison, then can you explain why nationalism and extremism are not being opposed at local level? The poet Igor Lyapin recently wrote the following lines: "The power of the soviets will be empty words if, 70 years on, soldiers from the 'Spetsnaz' take the place of the Supreme Soviet and the local soviet."

[Achalov] This question is a very complex one. The events that are developing in a number of regions in our country are the consequences of mistakes that were made in national policy. I am not drawing this conclusion on the basis of newspaper articles. I witnessed many events myself. That is why I believe that your comparison is acceptable.

Our officers and our soldiers are forced to take the greatest responsibility upon themselves and stand in the way of vandalism and cruelty. And I am not going to predict the dimensions of the tragedy had we been a day or two late in Osh Oblast.

Officials in Frunze told me that crime fell several times over during the one-month stay of one of our parachute regiments in the city.

And on the other hand, if we think deeply about the reasons that force us to transfer our troops to one region or another, it becomes clear that it is most often shortcomings on the part of soviet and party workers in the localities that are to blame. When there is no dialogue with the people, when the leadership sits in quiet offices

and governs only by telephone, then even a small conflict threatens to grow into a great disaster.

Here are two small episodes. One day when I was in Osh I observed the following spectacle. Somewhere between 5,000 and 6,000 Uzbek women surrounded the obkom [oblast party committee] building and demanded that the leadership come out to talk to them. No one came out to see them. Of course, this exacerbated the situation. And what about the leaders? They appealed to us straight away, saying take the obkom building under your protection.... I observed the second episode on the same day in Uzgen. There too a large mob of women surrounded the raykom [rayon party committee]. The first secretary of the raykom came out to see them and answered their questions and clarified the situation in 40 minutes. The tension was relieved and people dispersed.

[Zyubin] Are the national problems reflected in the airborne forces?

[Achalov] Unfortunately this "virus" has infected our forces too. The Army is part of society and suffers from the same ailments. The nationalism that is being kindled in a number of regions is affecting the mood of the draftees. We have already had many examples of non-regulation relations on a national basis.

I will stress something else: Any honest person cannot fail to see that in the state there is no more international institution than the Army. In it everyone is united by common aims and tasks, a single system of training and education, and a single language. Therefore the strengthening of these roots in the Army and respect for military service objectively strengthen the Union. The Soviet soldier is a symbol of the unity of our peoples. I say this on the basis of my own personal experience. It so happens that throughout my career I have been in command of large subunits and units, a company where there were 18 nationalities, and a division where there were 40 nationalities.

[Zyubin] There has recently been talk of a fall in the prestige of service in the Armed Forces, but you could not say the same about service in the paratroops.

[Achalov] There is a concept of paratroop fraternity. Let us recall history. The Gauls were a bold and warlike people, but before battle they chained themselves to each other so that none of them lost their nerve and retreated. The chains did not save them. The paratroopers have something stronger than chains in their arsenal—patriotism, combat comradeship, and responsibility to the people.

Military Celebrates Construction Worker's Day

PM1408135790 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 11 Aug 90 First Edition p 1

[Report by KRASNAYA ZVEZDA correspondent Colonel L. Nechayuk "From Moscow" under "Direct Line" rubric: "In Honor of Construction Worker's Day"]

[Text] A ceremony to mark Construction Worker's Day was held 9 August at the M.V. Frunze Soviet Army Central House.

The presidium comprised Colonel General Yu. Yashin, USSR deputy defense minister; Colonel General G. Stefanovskiy, deputy chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate; Lieutenant General L. Shumilov, first deputy chief of Construction and Troop Billeting; Lieutenant General A. Stolyarov, member of the Military Council and chief of the Railroad Troops Political Directorate; representatives of USSR Defense Ministry main and central directorates; and veterans of military construction work.

The ceremony was opened by Colonel General N. Kovalenko, chief of the military construction units' Political Directorate.

V. Subot, leader of a team of plasterers from the Moscow City Trust of the Administration of Finishing Work of the Moscow City Main Administration for Housing and Civil Construction [Glavmosstroy]; USSR Pilot-Cosmonaut Major General of Aviation N. Nikolayev, twice hero of the Soviet Union; and I. Kovaleva, member of the Glavmosstroy Trust No. 1 Komsomol [All-Union Lenin Communist Youth League] Committee, delivered greetings to the military construction workers.

Lieutenant General L. Shumilov addressed the gathering.

Yazov Issues Order to Workers

PM1408114890 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 12 Aug 90 First Edition p 1

[USSR Defense Minister Yazov's order for Construction Worker's Day]

[Text] USSR Defense Minister's Order.

12 August 1990. No. 306. Moscow.

Comrade members of the Army and Navy!

Comrade military construction workers and members of road construction units!

Comrade military construction veterans!

Today our country and its Armed Forces mark Construction Worker's Day!

Military construction workers and members of road construction units hail their professional celebration in conditions of the practical realization of the policy of radically changing Soviet society within the framework of socialist choice, implementing profound military reforms, and carrying out the resolutions of the 28th CPSU Congress

The processes of perestroyka, democratization, and glasnost are being consistently stepped up in military and

labor collectives; a businesslike and demanding atmosphere is developing; and the activeness of personnel, workers, and staffers of the Soviet Army and Navy in the high-quality resolution of capital construction tasks is increasing. Military construction workers have successfully fulfilled their task for the first half of 1990 and have made a substantial contribution toward strengthening the motherland's defense potential, increasing the USSR Armed Forces' combat readiness, solving national economic problems, and constructing housing and social facilities.

I salute and congratulate you on the occasion of Construction Worker's Day!

I wish the personnel of military construction and road construction units; institutions, organizations, enterprises, and military education establishments; and military construction veterans good health and success in fulfilling the planned tasks, improving professional skill, and strengthening military and labor discipline.

[Signed] USSR Defense Minister, Marshal of the Soviet Union D. Yazov

Baltic Republics

Prunskiene Unhappy With 'Pressure' on Cabinet

LD1408202490 Moscow in English to Great Britain and Ireland 1900 GMT 14 Aug 90

[Text] The Lithuanian prime minister, Mrs. Kazimera Prunskiene, has expressed dissatisfaction with the pressure of the Lithuanian parliament on her cabinet. According to the INTERFAX news agency, she was interviewed by the independent Vilnius paper RESPUBLIKA. Mrs. Prunskiene would not want to see Lithuania become an authoritarian, dictatorial republic. On the talks with Moscow, she said that it is wrong to show constant mistrust of the partner in a dialogue.

Lithuania To Examine Use of Stalinist Memorials

LD1408162890 Vilnius International Service in Lithuanian 2100 GMT 13 Aug 90

[Text] In 50 years many sculptures, monuments, and busts honoring totalitarism and its ideologues have been built in Lithuania. At present the public expresses its dissatisfaction at these monuments in towns and villages.

The Ministry of Culture and Education of the Republic of Lithuania is of the opinion that these monuments reflect a specific period of our history and they should be properly used. Therefore the ministry asks local government bodies and public organizations which organize the dismantling of these monuments not to destroy them. A commission to examine problems concerning the use of these monuments and of other objects reflecting socialist life is being set up. The public is asked by 1 October to submit its proposals about these monuments to the Department of Cultural Heritage. An evaluation commission will generalize these proposals and submit its conclusions.

Monument to Lithuanian CP Founder Dismantled

LD1408174390 Moscow TASS in English 1734 GMT 14 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondent Kazis Uscila]

[Text] Marjampole, Lithuanian Republic, August 14 TASS—The monument to Vincas Mickjavicus-Kapsukas, a founder and leader of the Lithuanian Communist Party and a prominent figure of the Lithuanian and international communist movement, was dismantled in Marijampole, a city in the southeast of Lithuania near the Polish border, today.

Marijampole was renamed Kapsukas in 1955 and the monument to this politician and associate of Vladimir Lenin was erected ten years ago. Last year, the city reverted to its old name and the monument to Kapsukas has now gone too. It was dismantled by order of the municipal authorities.

This move is a follow-up on the campaign to dismantle monuments to Soviet politicians. The monument to Lenin in the city of Varnjai in the Teljaisky district and the monument to Lenin and the four executed Communists in Kaunas have also been destroyed recently.

Armoured personnel carriers and soldiers guard the monuments to Lenin and General Ivan Chernyakhovskiy, who commanded the troops that liberated Vilnius from the Nazis, at night and people's volunteer militia aid detachments—during the day.

Local observers believe that the dismantling of the monument to Kapsukas is not the last action of the new campaign. The appeal by the Culture and Education Ministry "On the Monuments of Socialism" was made public in Lithuania today. It says that many sculptural monuments glorifying totalitarism, its ideologists and executors, were installed in Lithuania. The appeal points out that "society expresses increasing displeasure that these monuments stand in public places."

The authors of the appeal approach the local authorities and representatives of public organisations with the request not to destroy monuments but to set up a commission to decide on the possibility of exhibiting "these monuments and other objects reflecting life under socialism".

Lithuanian Rural Party Aktiv Holds Conference

PM1408151090 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 12 Aug 90 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Lithuanian Rural Party Aktiv Conference"]

[Text] Vilnius, 11 Aug—A significant section of the inhabitants of the Lithuanian countryside do not approve of the agrarian policy pursued by the republic parliament and government, the main avenues of which are the speeding up of the privatization of agricultural production and the disintegration of kolkhozes [collective farms] and sovkhozes [state farms].

This was the conclusion reached at the rural party aktiv conference held at the Lithuanian Communist Party (CPSU) Central Committee. M. Burokevicius, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party (CPSU) Central Committee, who spoke at the conference, and other speakers, agreed unanimously that if the outlined changes take place, a differentiation of the population into rich and poor will occur, which in the final analysis may be a cause of the exacerbation of conflicts and confrontation.

The participants in the conference approved measures aimed at the activization of rural party organizations' work, the provision of assistance to kolkhozes and sovkhozes, and the preservation of the existing way of life. It was decided to organize an association of rural producers, whose main aim will be—through joint

efforts—to defend the interests of farmers and protect the kolkhozes and sovkhozes. It is planned to hold in September or October of this year, in conjunction with other progressive organizations, a congress of Lithuanian peasants.

Sajudis Plans 'Mammoth' Border Rally 23 Aug

LD1408124290 Moscow TASS in English 1113 GMT 14 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondent Kazis Uscila]

[Text] Vilnius August 14 TASS—Lithuania's Sajudis pro-independence movement has called on citizens of the republic to stage a mammoth rally outside the Lazdei customs post on the Soviet-Polish border on August 23 to support demands that the Soviet Government "return to Lithuania the keys to all doors to the free world."

The demands were made by the Sajudis Sejm's council in an address timed to coincide with the 50th anniversary of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact.

The planned rally, called "the European Path," will be a follow-up to the "Baltic Path" action, sponsored on August 23, 1989, by Sajudis and the Latvian and Estonian popular fronts. Hundreds of thousands of people in the three Baltic republics formed a human chain from Vilnius to Tallinn.

This time, Sajudis plans a rally in the direct proximity of the state border, which will involve representatives of West European countries.

It urged "all Lithuania" to set up a camp near the frontier. A similar camp, for the representatives of European countries, is planned on the other side of the border.

The organisers' undisguised intention to stage a mass border crossing on August 23 is causing considerable alarm in Lithuania.

As prospects for a settlement of the dispute between Lithuania and the Soviet Union improve, an attempt by thousands of people to cross the border in violation of established procedures and international legal norms may, it is feared, provoke a conflict.

"The European Path," including discussions, seminars and meetings with Lithuanian politicians, is to continue in Vilnius and other Lithuanian cities until August 30. To give more people an opportunity to take part, the Lithuanian government decided to move a day-off from Saturday, August 18, to Friday, August 24.

Lithuanian League Demands Government Resignation

90UN2477A Riga SOVETSKAYA MOLODEZH in Russian 18 Jul 90 p 2

[Article by Saliamonas Vaintraubas from "Baltiya—LETA": "The Liberty League Against the Government"]

[Text] The Lithuanian Liberty League [LLL], the most radical public organization, demanded that the government resign over the declaration of a temporary suspension of the Act on Restoring the Independence of the Republic. A leaflet signed by the LLL and addressed to the deputies of the Supreme Council says that leaving the fate of Lithuania in the hands of K. Prunskiene means burying the freedom and independence of Lithuania for many years to come.

Even before Sajudis was born, the league held rallies at which the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact and the secret protocols signed by them were denounced and the need to restore the independence of Lithuania discussed. Subsequently this organization, headed by Antanas Terleckas, in the recent past a dissident and a gulag prisoner, started its struggle for a renewed Lithuania without Communists, counting the independent Communist Party among its enemies as well, though the latter was the first to set itself against Moscow and take blows from it (including those from paratroopers). At its numerous, and at one time virtually daily, rallies the LLL branded as a traitor everyone who said that pursuing a flexible policy with regard to Moscow was necessary. Terleckas personally has invariably made such statements.

The leaflet says that A. Brazauskas was the standard-bearer of all reactionary forces; however, K. Prunskiene has now become such a standard-bearer by the will of the Kremlin and the Communist Party of Lithuania. Supposedly, she diligently defends the interests of another state, is in sympathy with Moscow, and openly supports it politically and economically.

In conjunction with a campaign against the government (and the suspension proposed by it), parliament Chairman Vytautas Landsbergis was asked at a press conference whether he has confidence in the prime minister. Landsbergis called this question highly improper. Mrs. Prunskiene herself, who has innate tactfulness and diplomatic talent, reacted indirectly to the LLL campaign in Kaunas on 15 July at the unveiling of the restored monument to Vytautas the Great, during whose 15th century reign Lithuania rose to the peak of its greatness. Having noted the outstanding traits of the Great Prince of Lithuania, a military commander and diplomat, she emphasized relations with neighbors which he skillfully arranged. The prime minister appealed to the Lithuanian people for unity, which is very necessary at present.

In a survey taken in June by the Center for the Study of Public Opinion of the Academy of Sciences of Lithuania, K. Prunskiene got the highest popularity rating—61. (A. Brazauskas had 50, and V. Landsbergis—28). However, A. Terleckas expressed his lack of confidence in this survey too.

Lithuanian President To Visit Denmark 24 Aug

LD1408191990 Moscow TASS in English 1902 GMT 14 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondent Kazys Uscila]

[Text] Vilnius August 14 TASS—President of the Lithuanian parliament Vytautas Landsbergis will arrive in Denmark on August 24 at the invitation of the Danish prime minister.

The agenda of the visit includes meetings with Prime Minister Poul Schluter, Foreign Minister Uffe Ellemann-Jensen and members of the Danish Parliament.

Troops Redeployed From East Europe to Latvia

Latvia To Protest

90UN2477B Riga SOVETSKAYA MOLODEZH in Russian 12 Jul 90 p 1

[Article by LETA correspondent Vladislav Gaylish: "The Military: Behind the Smoke Screen of Lies"]

[Text] The Latvian Telegraph Agency, LETA, has received a resolution of the Talsinskiy Rayon Soviet of People's Deputies requesting that it bring the facts found in the resolution to the attention of the public.

Thus, the resolution says that information has been received by the rayon soviet on the replacement or replenishment of the USSR Armed Forces deployed in the rayon with new contingents from among those pulled out of East Europe. It is pointed out that the deployment of the USSR Armed Forces on the territory of Latvia runs counter to the striving of the people to restore state independence and for the demilitarization of the Baltic region. Also, the introduction of troops from East Europe to Latvia runs counter to the statements previously made by USSR President M. Gorbachev, the USSR Government, and the commander of the Troops of the Military District, F. Kuzmin, and, therefore, is accompanied by lies. Taking into account the fact that this painfully affects the interests of the population of Talsinskiy Rayon, the Soviet of People's Deputies has adopted its resolution. Here, briefly, is its essence:

—to lodge a protest with the USSR Government and the command of the Baltic Military District;

—to ask that the USSR people's deputies and the people's deputies of the Republic of Latvia elected from this region demand that the USSR Government withdraw from Talsinskiy Rayon the troops pulled out of East Europe and ask that the Supreme Soviet and the government of Latvia vigorously facilitate this process;

—to instruct all local soviets to withhold supplies of foodstuffs, water, energy, infrastructural services, and other resources from the rayon allocation, from the units brought in and their auxiliary personnel, including civilians;

—the executive committee of the rayon soviet will cooperate with the populace in holding protest actions.

The text of the resolution was sent to President M. Gorbachev, USSR and Republic of Latvia people's deputies, F. Kuzmin, the executive committees of all local soviets of the rayon, and the commanders of military units.

Further on Redeployment

LD1408155290 Riga Domestic Service in Latvian 0430 GMT 14 Aug 90

[Text] Yesterday, in the program "Aktualitates un Muzika" [Topicial News and Music], I promised to talk about actions against the people as a whole and individual persons on the part of the Army. I will be coming to that. But this morning—also news about the Army, but only about one single new item of news that I just received, but the fact is alarming, even more alarming than what recently came from the Talsi area—about the arrival of new army units in Latvia. There is information that the army unit located in the vicinity of Zakumuiza has just moved to Riga, to the barracks on Nakotnes Street, and it is said that at Zakumuiza army personnel will arrive, probably with their entire families, from Hungary.

It is not important whether it is from Hungary, Czechoslovakia, or Germany—the main thing is that, contrary to the affirmations of the highest men in the army, nevertheless Soviet Army units, leving the countries of East Europe, are being placed in the Baltic lands, especially Latvia.

This time we did not even try to ring the Baltic Military District to ask whether this information is correct, because I know that they will answer no. That is disinformation. In a word, one way or another, they will lie, while doing what they like, secretly or openly.

I venture to tell listeners this item of news known to me, disregarding the fact that I shall incur the indignation and possibly also protests from army men. I recommend that senior people in the government and the Supreme Council check up on what I have said; if anything can be done, then only they can do it. God grant that my information is wrong, but then one would get the idea that the Soviet Army is already leaving Latvian territory, because can we believe that at Zakumuiza the army's territory will remain empty? If any of you esteemed listeners have any information in this connection, we would like to hear it.

It is doubtful whether the land of Latvia is able to endure a still bigger army contingent. Already now the land is groaning under the caterpillar tracks and everything else.

General Denies Occupation Claims

LD1408144590 Moscow TASS in English 1408 GMT 14 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondent Valeriy Zaytsev]

[Text] Riga August 14 TASS—Colonel-General Fedor Kuzmin, commander of the Baltic Military District, during his appearance on a Latvian television programme late on Monday night on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the establishment of the military district, refuted assertions about the alleged half-a-century-long occupation of the Baltic region by Soviet troops.

"Occupation presupposes the establishment of a special regime, the transfer of the entire power to the military administration, and a ban on parties and other political institutions," Kuzmin said.

But, as is known, there was and is nothing of the kind in Latvia, counting out the 1941-1944 period when the republic's territory was captured by the Nazis, he emphasised.

General Kuzmin drew attention to the fact that some local authorities support actions to increase the activity of former SS soldiers, "establish monuments to SS personnel and try to organise SS reunions".

Expressing the opinion of his constituents, USSR People's Deputy Kuzmin emphasised that "the reanimation of fascism on Baltic soil poses a tremendous danger."

Kuzmin described as a short-sighted political step the local authorities' decisions in some districts of Latvia to deny medical attention, trade service, and provision of food to servicemen and members of their families and the opportunity for their children to attend school.

Latvian Committee Stresses Union Treaty

LD1408153290 Moscow TASS in English 1527 GMT 14 Aug 90

[Text] Riga August 14 TASS—The Latvian Citizens Committee has criticized Latvian authorities' refusal to take part in drafting a new Soviet Union treaty.

The committee, which says its aim is to protect citizen rights as well as the Latvian and federal constitutions, voiced the criticisms in a letter to President Mikhail Gorbachev, Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov and the parliaments of Soviet republics.

The letter, publihed in the SOVETSKAYA LATVIA newspaper, referred to a decision by the presidium of the Latvian Supreme Soviet late last month and a following statement by the Council of Baltic States, signed by Latvian President Anatolijs Gorbunovs.

Both documents said that plenipotentiary representatives of the Latvian Republic have not taken part in drawing up a Soviet Union treaty and do not think it possible to share in this work in future.

The citizens committee noted that the decision not to participate in writing a Union treaty was taken effectively behind closed doors and without prior discussion about related talks.

The letter branded the decision as politically short-sighted, defiant of mounting integration processes in Europe and obstructing cooperation between republics willing to participate in a Union treaty.

The committee demanded that relations between Latvia and the Soviet Union strictly adhere to constitutional norms. It endorsed a plenipotentiary group of Latvian deputies and its own members to take part in evolving a Union treaty concept.

The letter said that "the committee reserves the right to take essential measures to protect the legitimate rights of the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic.

Reportage on Reaction to Gorbachev Statement

Estonian Soviet Issues Statement

LD1408125790 Tallinn Domestic Service in Estonian 1700 GMT 13 Aug 90

[Official statement issued by the Estonian Supreme Soviet; date not given; read by the Supreme Soviet press spokesman, Raul Malk]

[Excerpts] The 7 August resolution of the Republic of Estonia's Supreme Soviet was meant as a formulation of general stances for talks with the Soviet Union. If up until now some people in Moscow may have had hopes that by taking advantage of the internal conflicts in Estonia it would be possible to push us to taking a little step toward the Union treaty, now matters have been voiced with such clarity that not a shadow of a doubt remains. Perhaps one relied in earlier calculations upon the stances of some Estonian circles, perhaps one hoped to break the top leaders, or perhaps one hoped to repeat the Lithuanian version with a moratorium, who knows? Perhaps the Estonian stance among the other Baltic states is even clearer now. In any case, it was considered necessary to issue a USSR leader's statement about us.

What happened gives ground to assume that in Moscow a different tactic has been selected in respect of each Baltic state. This may encourage differing opinions to emerge among the Baltic states and it may become more difficult to work out a common course. In the eyes of the world the transformation of the three different problems into a Baltic issue has been a remarkable process. [passage ommitted]

Recently, in particular, there have been reactions to undertakings made at the Estonian initiative in respect to relations with USSR republics, joined also by Russia, for example. When Grigoriy Revenko, member of the USSR Presidential Council spoke to Arnold Ruutel on

26 and 31 July about appointing an Estonian delegation and setting up a platform for the talks, he no longer mentioned the former preconditions of USSR leaders—first and foremost the need to annul or freeze the 30 March resolution. Likewise it was not agreed that the talks should take place within the framework of preparations for the Union treaty. Now, the Gorbachev statement which has reached us places emphasis on the latter.

As one is dealing with a document which has been placed before the public at large we can view it already as an official stance. There has been talk on the part of Moscow about specific individuals who could hold talks with Estonia but up until now the precise composition of a delegation has not been announced. Up until now the same has also applied to the platform in respect of which, presumably, Mikhail Gorbachev's statement must provide some elucidation at the present stage.

This document does not specifically speak of talks with the Republic of Estonia. The USSR president talks about the continuing meetings of working groups in Moscow for the elaboration of the concept of the new Union treaty. Namely, the process of creating a union of sovereign states, in his opinion, is said to enable the issue of Estonian sovereignty to be resolved upon a truly democratic basis. Judging by the text of the statement, Moscow has not found any place of its own for talks with Estonia. [passage omitted]

An exchange of statements is in principle a normal phenomenon at the present stage of relations between the Republic of Estonia and the USSR, but it is another matter as to what the content of those statements is. This document, alas, contains a number of views which are unacceptable to us. The Republic of Estonia, for some reason, is being called the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] even though the 8 May Supreme Soviet law on Estonian symbols has not been mentioned directly in any of the president's annulment- pronouncement decrees and the official USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium publication, IZVESTIYA, for example, has banned the use of the Estonian SSR.

It is difficult to find logic in the claim which has repeatedly been presented that our Supreme Soviet is ignoring the will of the whole Estonian people. Not one representative body in world history has been able to claim to express the will of the whole people in the sense presented in the statement. There is enough conflict within any society. Even during the worst stagnation there was some small number of opposing votes at elections. At the same time a representative body—according to the principle of democracy—has been authorized to do certain things in the name of the whole people because its composition has been established according to the procedures which have been set down by laws and for the purpose of fulfilling certain functions for the whole of society.

In accordance with the necessary parliamentary rules, the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Estonia is authorized to adopt resolutions pertaining to Estonia's status as a state and to constitutional issues. No kind of USSR Constitution's provisions authorize the president nor anybody else to establish his own Constitution in Estonia. Opposing the will of the Estonian Supreme Soviet, the USSR Constitution can be implemented only by relying on force. Beginning on 30 March, Estonia has pursued the same line in its relations with the Soviet Union and for that reason there is no foundation to the claim that the 7 August resolution brought about a return to the 30 March position. The March resolution in the course of subsequent months has indeed been developed further but this has not changed the main thing: its course to restoration of complete state independence. [passage omitted]

The president's view on the Soviet Armed Forces may be quite legitimate in the regions where the USSR Constitution is valid. The Republic of Estonia, however, did not join the Soviet Union on the basis of free will, and this fact was confirmed once again by the 7 August Supreme Soviet resolution. Thus it is not possible to observe on Estonian territory the principles presented by the president without the role of the USSR Armed Forces being recognized as it stands in writing in the resolution of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Estonia. It says: to recognize the presence of USSR armed forces on the territory of the Republic of Estonia as being an infringement of the sovereignty of the Republic of Estonia and as being in conflict with international law, since their status has not been determined by any treaties between the Republic of Estonia and the Soviet Union.

The claims contained in the statement of the USSR president in respect of any infringement of international law would be applicable to Estonia only in the event of the forced incorporation of the Republic of Estonia into the composition of the USSR gaining complete international recognition. As is known, a large number of United Nations member states—with many of them also participants in the Helsinki process—have recently declared their nonrecognition of this incorporation.

I would hereby like to confirm our readiness to receive a UN expert commission which would acquaint itself with the observance of human rights in Estonia. The Republic of Estonia, formerly a full-fledged member of the League of Nations is also counting on the support of the USSR on joining the UN.

The independence endeavors of our people have gained wider and wider understanding and support from the international public at large and we hope that the international public will assess the statement of the USSR president from its own point of view. The Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Estonia will naturally study the statement of the USSR president carefully and will endeavor to obtain necessary elucidations from primary sources. We will certainly keep an eye on any further

specific steps by the USSR leadership in their relations with Estonia. These often speak louder than statements.

The will of the clear majority of the Estonian people to restore the complete state independence of the Republic of Estonia has found an outlet at big public demonstrations, at elections where the majority of the winning deputies spoke clearly on the platform of restoring state independence, as well as numerous Supreme Soviet resolutions. Of particular importance is the declaration adopted on 2 February at the meeting of people's deputies of all levels which confirms the unwavering will to restore the independence of the Republic of Estonia. Without retreating on the course to independence, we are ready for any new initiatives in contacts with the USSR. We have been and will continue to be active in all directions

Gorbachev Statement Studied

LD1408211190 Moscow TASS in English 2102 GMT 14 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondent Aleksandr Kharchenko]

[Text] Tallinn August 14 TASS—"President Mikhail Gorbachev's statement of August 12 is thoroughly studied in the Estonian parliament," Estonian Supreme Soviet press secretary Raul Malk writes in an article handed over for publication today.

Malk presents Gorbachev's statement as the loss by Moscow of hopes "to get Estonia to take even a small step towards a Union treaty, exploiting the latter's internal differences."

The article is the first official reaction by Tallinn to the statement by the Soviet president who proclaimed as "anti-constitutional" the Estonian parliament's resolution on this Baltic republic's relations with the Soviet Union, which was issued on August 7.

Estonian legislators said they refused to conduct talks with the Soviet Union on the basis of the fundamental legal documents of the USSR and the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic. Gorbachev described their move as an attempt to "legalise Estonia's secession from the USSR in circumvention of the republic's people and the respective legislative acts."

Malk noted that the Soviet president's statements concerning the violation by Estonian legislators of international law standards "would have been applicable to Estonia only in case the forced incorporation of the Estonian Republic into the USSR had been recognised internationally."

He reaffirmed the readiness of the republic's leadership to "receive a commission of U.N. experts that will acquaint themselves with human rights observance in Estonia."

"The Estonian Republic, a former member of the League of Nations, hopes for the Soviet Union's support in joining the United Nations," Malk stressed.

Reaction 'Ambivalent'

PM1408191790 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 15 Aug 90 p 1

[Dispatch by TASS correspondent A. Kharchenko: "A Very Important Document"]

[Text] Tallinn, 13 Aug—The statement by USSR President M.S. Gorbachev in connection with the adoption of the resolution "On Relations Between the Estonian Republic and the USSR" by the Estonian Supreme Soviet 7 August, has evoked an ambivalent reaction here.

"The USSR has embarked on serious reforms in the state structure," S. Petinov, chairman of the Council of Elders of the Interregional Council of People's Deputies and Working People of the Estonian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic], told a TASS correspondent. "A new Union treaty is being drafted. Meanwhile Estonia is essentially cutting itself off from the new processes which are under way in the USSR by declaratively abolishing constitutional norms and federative ties on a unilateral basis. This is a profound mistake."

As for the 7 August resolution, it is, in S. Petinov's opinion, "most likely a jubilee gesture." It is clearly pegged to the 50th anniversary of the Estonian SSR's accession to the Soviet Union with the aim of keeping certain sentiments on the boil among the Estonian population. However, if you look closely, you will see that the expected reaction from the Estonian side failed to materialize. This indicates that people are tired of declarations. After all, the working people's living standards are declining in the republic at the moment. There is no need to look far for proof. Just look at the prices in the stores. Fish, vegetables, fruit, confectionary goods, and bread have become more expensive. The government has promised price increases as regards meat and dairy products...

M.S. Gorbachev's statement, S. Petinov said further, is a very important document. It rightly notes that not just the fundamentals of the USSR Constitution have been infringed, but so have generally accepted international norms—the UN Charter, the Final Act of the All-European Conference, and others—which reject arbitrariness in the solution of questions pertaining to states' territorial integrity and inviolability of borders.

At the same time, S. Petinov said in conclusion, it cannot be expected that the USSR President's statement will bring about a volte-face in the minds and hearts of people in Estonia, since we have not yet seen any mechanisms for exerting influence apart from these forms. And people are becoming immune to them...

Today, having obtained the text of the USSR President's statement, I telephoned the republic Supreme Soviet

Presidium eager to learn their stance on this. I was told by the Presidium Secretariat that a document was in preparation.

We will wait and see.

I came across the newspaper MOLODEZH ESTONII. Journalist A. Erek highlighted the following words in a headline: "The Door Is Slammed Every Time Some Delegates Walk Out of the Hall (in order not to take part in a vote—author's note), and others walk out from the USSR. And they all return quietly and unnoticed..."

An apt observation.

Comparison of Gorbachev Statement

PM1208204590

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian on 13 August 1990 carries in its Second Edition on page 1 a statement by USSR President M.S. Gorbachev, dated 12 August 1990. This version has been compared with the Moscow Television Service Russian version published in the 13 August Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, page 78, and found to be identical, except for the following variations:

Page 78, column two, first full paragraph, third sentence reads: ...cannot be deemed lawful.

The main purpose of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet resolution of 7 August resides in the fact that people want to legalize Estonia's secession from the USSR through this document in circumvention of the republic's people and of existing legislative acts on this score. It is not only the constitutional foundations of the USSR, but also universally accepted international norms that are being violated here: The UN Charter, the Helsinki Final Act, and others that reject arbitrary rule in resolving questions relating to the integrity of the territoriies of states and the inviolability of borders.

As everyone knows,... (adding paragraph)

Estonia Enacts Measures on Privatization

904A0527C Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 20 Jul 90 p 3

[Resolution of the Republic of Estonia Supreme Soviet Presidium "On Priority Measures for Organizing the Process of Privatization"]

[Text] With a view to exercising the right of property of the Republic of Estonia with regard to assets at the disposal of the Republic of Estonia, and pursuant to the Republic of Estonia Law on Property, the presidium of the Republic of Estonia Supreme Soviet resolves:

1. To suspend temporarily, until normative acts of the Republic of Estonia regulating the privatization of property are adopted, all transactions involving the assets of the statutory fund of enterprises and other organizations, which constitute state property, and entailing changes in the form of ownership of these assets, with the exception of cases envisaged by Point 3.2 of the present resolution, as well as the transfer of the assets of sovkhozes [state farms] to kolkhozes [collective farms] through established procedures.

2. To acknowledge that, based on a protocol resolution dated 28 May of this year, the Republic of Estonia government will develop the concept of privatization (the main principles of the process of privatization and their implementation in specific areas) and will submit it for consideration to the Republic of Estonia Supreme Soviet by 1 September of this year.

3. To instruct the Republic of Estonia government:

3.1. To compile a review of assets constituting state property within the territory of the Republic of Estonia and outside it, and the obligations of the state to return assets, or pay compensation for assets, to former owners or their legal successors in conjunction with their illegal appropriation.

3.2. To prepare by 10 August a draft Republic of Estonia law on procedures and conditions for the accelerated privatization of consumer services, trade, and public-catering enterprises with a book value of under 500,000 rubles.

3.3. To envisage in the draft law guidelines for the use of funds generated by the sale of the assets referred to in Point 3.2.

4. To propose that the Republic of Estonia Supreme Soviet create a privatization commission, envisaging that the organization of the creation of laws and review of protests submitted in the course of privatization will be the main tasks of the commission.

5. The state control of the Republic of Estonia will monitor transactions of buying and selling assets owned by the state in the process of their privatization.

[Signed] A. Ruutel, chairman of the Republic of Estonia Supreme Soviet

[Dated] Tallinn, 17 July 1990

Estonia Abolishes People's Control Organs

904A0527B Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 20 Jul 90 p 3

[Decree of the Republic of Estonia Supreme Soviet Presidium "On the Cessation of Operations of the Organs of People's Control"]

[Text] Acknowledging the communication of the Republic of Estonia government on the formation of a people's control committee at the production association "State Union Plant 'Dvigatel' imeni V.I. Lenin" by the USSR People's Control Committee on 7 June 1990, and noting that establishing the above committee and giving it responsibility for coordinating the operation of the committees and groups of people's control of enterprises, associations, and organizations located on the territory

of the Estonian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic], the Estonian Republic Supreme Soviet Presidium resolves:

In conjunction with the resolution of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet dated 4 April 1990 "On the Powers of the Estonian SSR People's Control Committee" and the adoption of the Republic of Estonia Law on State Control on 6 June 1990, the operation of the people's control committees, groups, and posts at enterprises, offices, and organizations, as well as the people's control groups of the rural and settlement Soviets of People's Deputies on the territory of the republic, is discontinued.

[Signed] A. Ruutel, chairman of the Republic of Estonia Supreme Soviet
[Dated] Tallinn, 17 July 1990

Estonian Party Demands Price Compensation

904A0527A Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 20 Jul 90 p 1

[Declaration by the Communist Party of Estonia Central Committee Bureau]

[Text] The Communist Party of Estonia Central Committee Bureau expresses serious concern about the growth trend in prices for consumer staples and services which has emerged with increasing clarity in recent months. The decisions of the government and the local organs of power were not accompanied by any arrangements for compensation to the populace. The lack of confidence in the future is also exacerbated by the fact that future steps aimed at increasing prices are unknown; it is unknown what compensation arrangements and the standard of living will be in the future. The program of the government of the Republic of Estonia does not include a specific plan for a transition to a market economy, including price policy, in the coming years. As a result, social tensions and discontent mount, which provides a superb environment for political demagoguery and threatens the process of democratization and striving for independence.

On 16 July 1990, Chairman of the Estonian government E. Savisaar communicated in a TV address the intention to discontinue the payment of subsidies for meat and dairy products effective 1 October and to let the spontaneous free market set these prices. Apart from unsubstantiated promises, the people are not aware of compensation arrangements and guidelines for price control which accompany this step. The statement the head of the government made bypassing the Supreme Soviet and failing to consult with the people may be viewed as irresponsible and destabilizing to the market of meat and dairy products in the months to come.

The Communist Party of Estonia Central Committee Bureau believes that increasing procurement prices and ensuring the profitability of production are extremely necessary for both joint farms and hamlet operators. However, we have a duty to find a way whereby this will occur without a sharp decline of the standard of living of the populace and with social fairness upheld.

In the name of this, we call on Communist Party of Estonia organizations and the entire populace of the republic:

1. To seek that the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Estonia suspend the intentions of the government until guidelines are developed for compensation and price-control arrangements. The Communist Party of Estonia Central Committee Bureau believes that the price increases should be preceded by corresponding compensation arrangements, as well as effective measures aimed at demonopolizing production.

2. To demand that the government of the Republic of Estonia compile a list of goods whose prices cannot be raised without monetary compensation. We are convinced that, along with consumer staples, this list should include expenditures for the spiritual motivation of the people and the preservation of a cultural standard (the press, textbooks, children's literature, theater and concert tickets, and so on).

In supporting the transition to market relations, the Communist Party of Estonia believes that it is necessary to implement consistently the methods of market regulation and to do this in a comprehensive manner, with thorough preparations. In the process, specific conditions should be taken into account, and the models of other states should not be replicated automatically. Given a sharp transition to market prices, they will jump much faster and higher in Estonia than in the countries of East Europe because the former have more developed cooperative sectors, multifaceted economies, and more extensive foreign economic relations than we do.

The responsibility for the continuation of the present course devolves not only on the government but also on the Supreme Soviet, as well as the deputies of local self-government bodies. We need to seek solutions that meet the interests of the populace to the greatest degree rather than the simplest ways to solve our complex economic problems.

Anti-Army Sentiment in Estonia Disturbing

LD1408142490 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1300 GMT 14 Aug 90

[Text] The 12 August statement of the USSR president stresses that the organization of defense are the exclusive preserve of the USSR. Hence the asertion of the Estonian Supreme Soviet that the presence of the Armed Forces on the territory of the republic infringes its sovereignty and cannot be accepted as legitimate. Colonel General Krivosheyev, deputy chief of general staff of the USSR Armed Forces, has stated in this connection that not one Union republic is in a position, from an economic viewpoint, to tackle independently the complex material-technical, personnel, and other problems which face the Armed Forces. Estonia is no exception. One is

amazed by the position of the republic's Supreme Soviet, not only in the issue of stationing troops on its territory, but also that of manning the armed forces.

Obvious confirmation of this is in the results of the spring call up. In Estonia the call up was fulfilled by only 42 percent, and some 2,500 young Estonians avoided their constitutional duty. One cannot fail to be disturbed by the anti-Army sentiments here either, or by the fanning of unhealthy passions connected with the attempt to undermine the normal functioning of military commissariats. The problems connected with defense issues can be must be resolved, Col Gen Krivosheyev said in conclusion, but this should be done in a competent way and on a constructive platform. For that reason, the USSR president's statement appeals to the Estonian Supreme Soviet for reason and for correct understanding of all the defense issues which face our state.

Baltic Materials Ministries Sign Agreement

LD1408223890 Vilnius International Service in Lithuanian 2100 GMT 14 Aug 90

[Text] The material resources ministries of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia signed a cooperation agreement in Riga today. It will aid the creation and development of a Baltic market.

As was observed at the meeting of the three republics' ministers, the agreement will aid the safeguarding and (?deepening) of mutually beneficial relations and the establishment and expansion of a Baltic market and will provide conditions for improving the supply of necessities to Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia.

RSFSR

Reportage on Yeltsin's Tour of RSFSR

Roundup of Visit to Tataria

90UN2610A Moscow TRUD in Russian 12 Aug 90 p 1

[Report by Ye. Ukhov: "The Chairman's Working Day"]

[Text] Kazan—B.N. Yeltsin, chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Supreme Soviet, spent almost this whole week in Tataria—the first stop of his tour of Russia, which is just beginning and which will last several days. The list of meetings on Tataria soil was long and fast paced: oil workers, Kama truck plant workers, nuclear electric power station construction workers, villagers, aircraft-assembly workers, the artistic intelligentsia, people's deputies, working adolescents.... The forms of the contacts ranged from discussion with those in picket lines and dialogue in academic halls through thousands-strong mass meetings in plant shops. The people of Kazan displayed such a heightened interest in the guest that their vigorous aspiration to personal contact could not always be contained by the reinforced militia details. Boris Nikolayevich even had once to "save" himself on a passing... streetcar.

This interest is perfectly explicable: In two weeks time the question of the state sovereignty of the Tatar Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic [ASSR] will be discussed at a session of the Tatar Supreme Soviet. In this connection many people were most likely expecting to hear from the head of the new Russian parliament some strict recommendations, counsel, and persuasion. However, there was nothing of the sort. From first setting foot here B.N. Yeltsin clearly and categorically declared that the people of Tataria must themselves decide what form of independence they need—a Union, autonomous, or simply sovereign republic. His sole wish was that the maximum balance, tolerance, and respect for evolved interethnic traditions be displayed here. Russia and Tataria should support one another, having concluded the pertinent treaty.

Perhaps this refrain, heard at the meetings at all levels, did protect the chairman to some extent from burning debate, although it has hardly relaxed the tense atmosphere in the republic, which is confronted with a difficult, fundamental choice. For the first time in many years the "center" is not oppressing its "vassal," having accorded it the right of independent decision. It remains to be hoped that this credit of trust will be used wisely.

Meets Scientists in Syktyvkar

LD1408204490 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 14 Aug 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Today Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin, chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet was in Syktyvkar during the first half of the day.

Arriving in the capital of the Komi ASSR, Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin left for a meeting with scientists. A major conversation about problems was held in the Academic Geology Institute concerning how to dispose rationally of the enormous natural resources of the republic to ensure the lives of the people living there become richer and better. The way ahead, in the view of the leader of the Russian parliament, is sovereignty for the republic and an increase in its independence in all sectors of the economy. [video shows Yeltsin arriving, meeting scientists]

The talk about independence continued at a meeting with the leaders of the republic. Incidentally, everyone was able to take part in it: Passes were not required. The question is important. The Presidium of the Komi ASSR Supreme Soviet has adopted a draft program for transferring the republic to a market economy. How will the new mechanisms operate, how will relations be between the republic and the Union and with Russia, what principle will be laid at their foundation? [video shows Yeltsin addressing crowded meeting]

[Yeltsin] The republic is improbably rich in underground resources. At the same time, 80 percent of raw

timber is removed; at the same time there are the poorest shops, that is, we have a rich republic and a people living so poorly. This is the direction that needs work so proposals now being elaborated on the status of the republic—special status, I would say, from the viewpoint of increasing rights—we will agree with what the republic proposes to us. [as heard]

Arrives in Sverdlovsk

LD1408211390 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1940 GMT 14 Aug 90

[From the "Television News Service" program]

[Excerpts] Boris Yeltsin's swift movements around Russia are continuing. Today he flew from Syktyvkar to Sverdlovsk. Up to that point the head of the Russian state had visited the autonomous regions of the Volga and the Urals. Everywhere he is expounding his 500-day program and is literally handing out freedom, supporting the strive for national sovereignty in whatever form it might be accepted by the people.

[Begin Yeltsin recording] Independence, or rather the free economic zone that the republic will probably request, we will undoubtedly give you such status, a special status, and then you manage what you have. You are the bosses yourselves. [end recording]

Like a sponge, Boris Yeltsin is absorbing new ideas on the trip. One of them, which he found in Ufa, is the need to legislatively secure the status of an indigenous nationality. This status should be a priority status, irrespective of the percentage correlation of peoples on this or that territory. Incidentally, so far not all the solutions have been found. [passage omitted on unrelated topics]

[Begin recording] [Yeltsin] All in all I think that in a week I have probably met with no fewer than 100,000 people and relations turned out somewhat unexpected for me.

[Unidentified correspondent] Why?

[Yeltsin] I thought that there was some kind of caution with regard to Yeltsin; but it seems to me that there is very great support from the people. [end recording]

Meets With Sverdlovsk Electors

LD1408192690 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 14 Aug 90

[Excerpt] Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin, chairman of the Russian Supreme Soviet, arrived in Sverdlovsk from Vorkuta today. Our correspondents Sergey Omelchenko and Yan Kutaryanskiy report.

[Begin recording] [Omelchenko] Sverdlovsk, like the rest of Russia, is welcoming its chairman of the Supreme Soviet with the same problems. These are ecological problems, the development of democracy and self-determination of the nations and ethnic groups of Russia, improving our economy, and also social and very deep, purely human personal problems. Today they concern each one of the 150 million Russians. And today Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin, in the Palace of Youth, is reporting back to his electors.

[Kutaryanskiy] Incidentally, all the meetings provided for by the program are in closed buildings, although there are a great many people wanting to meet the head of the Russian parliament. People are trying to meet him and are conveying letters to him, and of course one can imagine their content. This is especially easy to imagine if you have lived in the Urals a long time and if you go into its shops and breathe its air. There are a great many problems. And the city budget is insufficient to resolve the ecological problems. For example the oblast needs 2.6 million rubles to resolve this. There are problems relating to some kind of incomprehensible poisoning of young people now in the fields where they are helping the villagers. This too is a sore point.

[Omelchenko] And so, Boris Nikolayevich has been speaking about what ways have been mapped out to revive Russia.

[Yeltsin] The Russian program, which is ready, has in fact been elaborated to a very large extent by those people who were working in terms of an alterantive to the government program of the Union. And for this reason they arrived at more radical and interesting decisions: the 500-day program. According to this program, it is proposed to stabilize the economy in Russian within two years and to raise the standard of living in the third year. And we are asking the new leadership of the Supreme Soviet and the Russian state, the new government of Russia to lend the credit of trust for this time. I am asking you, too. [applause]

But, there is one serious shortcoming in our program. It cannot be implemented by Russia alone if one does not have a separate currency. Then I wrote to Comrade Gorbachev and proposed we take the idea of the Russian program, that we set up a group and let it work out by 1 September a Union program on this basis. He agreed and we confirmed the composition of the group, and it is working.

They have already produced more than one version. It has been studied, and it has turned out that... [changes thought] The reason why I shall be in Sverdlovsk for 24 hours less is that I want to cut short my study tour of the East and fly to Moscow for 24 hours, the day after tomorrow, to again convene this group for supervision and monitoring, because I shall return closer to 1 September. [as heard] [end recording] [passage omitted on details of Sverdlovsk itinerary]

Further on Meeting With Electors

LD1408201990 Moscow TASS in English 2012 GMT 14 Aug 90

[by TASS correspondent Nadezhda Potapova]

[Text] Sverdlovsk August 14 TASS—"I have fulfilled your instruction by joining the competition for the post of the president of the Russian parliament and winning it," head of the Russian parliament Boris Yeltsin said, addressing his electors in Sverdlovsk.

Yeltsin, making a tour of the republic, on Tuesday arrived in Sverdlovsk. He was speaking at a meeting with deputies of local councils and representatives from neighbouring regions.

He began his speech with jokes and then continued with a substantial account of work done over the several months by himself and the Russian parliament. Yeltsin is a deputy to the Russian parliament from his native city of Sverdlovsk.

He familiarised the meeting with some of the 40 bills that are being elaborated by the Russian parliament. Russian laws on taxation and on property will differ from similar Union laws, which, Yeltsin said, had not given freedom to industrial collectives and had not promoted the development of enterprising.

The Russian parliament considers a priority the immediate adoption of laws on the freedom of conscience and religion and on referendums and a programme to revive villages, which is being elaborated by deputies together with the Russian Orthodox Church, Yeltsin said.

The transition of real power to local soviets is one of the main tasks, he said. Sverdlovsk deputies passed over to Yeltsin their proposals on the bill on local self-government.

On Wednesday morning, Yeltsin is expected to hold a deputy reception. Later in the day, he will discuss a broad range of issues with the heads of the city and the region. In the evening, he is planning to return to Moscow, and later he will continue his tour of Russia.

Yeltsin Reviews Impressions of Visit to Tataria

PM1408122190 Moscow RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA in Russian 11 Aug 90 p 2

[Interview in Tatar ASSR with B.N. Yeltsin, chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, by correspondent U. Bogdalov; date of interview not given: "Preserving and Multiplying"—first paragraph is an editorial introduction]

[Text] The working visit by B.N. Yeltsin, chairman of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet, around the oblasts, krays, and republics of the Volga, Urals, Siberia, and Far East began with the Tatar ASSR [Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic]. This is where our own correspondent U. Bogdalov conducted an interview with him.

[Bogdalov] Boris Nikolayevich, we heard at the aircraft steps that you were visiting the Tatar ASSR for the first time. Your first impressions are therefore particularly interesting.

[Yeltsin] A great deal still has to be analyzed, put to one side, but one thing is clear—the republic plays an important role in Russia's life. I consider the people's rich history, their national traditions and culture to be our common Russian heritage, the Tatars', Russians', and other peoples' age-old experience of living together here is also our common wealth. It must be preserved and multiplied.

These peoples have been able to do a great deal together, and Russia depends to a considerable extent on their labor. You only have to look around to understand what I have said. It is a rare thing for such man-made creations as Naberezhnyye Chelny with the Kama Truck Plant, the Nizhnekamsk petrochemical giants, and the emerging automobile construction center in Yelabug to be situated so close, within sight of one another. The "Tatneft" fields are a stone's throw away. There are also more than enough problems, as is the case everywhere. I saw once again how rich we are and how badly, how wretchedly we are exploiting this wealth.

[Bogdalov] Your trip has been extremely packed. You have had meetings at dozens of enterprises in the republic. What has most stuck in your mind?

[Yeltsin] It is hard even to list everything that has been mentioned. It has included problems in enterprise development, explanations regarding the Russian government program, and a list of many popular needs. Going over and over in my mind what I have heard, I came to one conclusion—the people's trust may be rapidly exhausted. We must embark boldly on reform and not cling to outmoded things or try to revive things that have been rejected by life itself. It is time to untie the real workers' hands, not just verbally but in fact. They can really do everything, there is no need to interfere.

I have had very many meetings. They have been very useful. During blunt conversations people spoke about all the "defects" of modern life. I've had discussions in the stores, on the streets, in the fields, with grain growers, vegetable farmers, livestock breeders, fur farmers, AES [nuclear electric power station] and Nizhnekamsk GES [hydroelectric power station] construction workers, drilling technicians, oil pipeline personnel, and KamAZ truck builders. It is impossible to enumerate everything.

I was conscious of pain for our land, our people, and the republic's future during all these conversations. That is understandable: People are increasingly beginning to realize that it is they who are the sole masters. These feelings must be backed up.

[Bogdalov] Your arrival coincided with the start of the harvest campaign. Do you believe that people have responded to the Russian Supreme Soviet's call to salvage what has been grown?

[Yeltsin] If throughout all the preceding decades we had not prevented the peasant working autonomously on the land, the customary rural harvest time would not have become the battle for the harvest that your brother

journalist formerly loved to call it. Extraordinary measures and overexertion of effort have been brought about through ineffective leadership, most often resulting in mismanagement. A real master—rather than someone under raykom [rayon party committee] pressure—will concern himself with fuel and spare parts, and will exert financial pressure on anyone who needs it. That's obvious. As for the specific conditions of this year's harvest campaign, we do of course need everyone involved in rural affairs to cooperate. The fields won't wait. The consumer could also give rural dwellers more active assistance. Based, of course, on the new principles of cooperation.

I will particularly point out that people in the rural areas of the Tatar ASSR are remarkable. They have preserved the good traditions of working on the land. I derived these impressions from my meetings with the republic's farmers. My impressions from my visit to the home of Israfil Shafigullovich Zaripov, a driver at Mamadyshskiy Rayon's "Unysh" Kolkhoz [Collective Farm], and other peasant families will remain with me for a long time. The originality of the Tatar family's way of life stuck in my mind; their prosperity is ensured by the industriousness of the masters.

[Bogdalov] I heard that the subject of Tataria's state sovereignty came up during virtually every discussion. It is well known that the Tatar ASSR Supreme Soviet session to be held at the end of August will consider a declaration of sovereignty. N. Travkin, chairman of an RSFSR Supreme Soviet committee, claimed at a recent rally in Kazan that the center has planted this idea so as to weaken the Russian parliament's positions. What is your opinion of that?

[Yeltsin] The increase in national self-awareness is obvious. In my view, this is a natural and normal process. So-called "machinations by the center" have nothing to do with the situation here. I reckon that the Tatar people are entitled to decide for themselves what kind of autonomy they need. I will repeat again what I said at the Congress of People's Deputies on my election: The formation of the allotment of power must happen from below—from the rayon and the city to the republic. The peoples must not enter into confrontation but must support one another by concluding the relevant treaty and developing relations on the principles of equality. That is my stance. There are no cover-ups or ambiguities in it.

Treaty Not Expected From Silayev's Vilnius Trip

LD1408192190 Moscow TASS in English 1908 GMT 14 Aug 90

[Text] Vilnius August 14 TASS—Russian Prime Minister Ivan Silayev's visit to Lithuania, scheduled for Wednesday, is expected to become the main event in this week's political life in the republic. The visit might result in the elaboration of the basis for a document on mutually advantageous cooperation between Lithuania and Russia.

The proposal to elaborate such a document was made some six weeks ago in a letter by president of the Russian parliament Boris Yeltsin and Prime Minister Ivan Silayev to the Lithuanian leaders.

Later, a delegation from the Russian Federation, headed by chairman of the Russian parliament's Council of Nationalities Ramazan Abdulatipov, visited Lithuania, and a Lithuanian delegation, led by Prime Minister Kazimiera Prunskiene, visited Moscow and met the Russian prime minister. They have worked out a protocol of negotiations.

According to Lithuanian observers, during the Russian prime minister's visit, it is hard to expect the signing of a fundamental long-term treaty between Lithuania and Russia.

It is quite realistic, though, to believe that the sides can reach an agreement on economic cooperation for the nearest future, most likely for 1991. They say the treaty will be signed only after "Russia fully recognises an independent Lithuanian Republic".

Silayev Defends RSFSR Market Conversion Plan

LD1408142190 Moscow World Service in English 1110 GMT 14 Aug 90

[Excerpts] At a vacation hotel near Moscow intensive work is under way to prepare a coordinated concept of the Soviet Union's conversion to a market economy. [passage omitted]

What is the program and what are its basic principles? This question was put to Russia's premier, Ivan Silayev:

[Begin Silayev recording in Russian with superimposed English translation] The strategic task for the government was formulated in the decisions of the first Congress of Peoples Deputies of the Russian Federation and the first session of Russia's parliament. I mean the task of a rebirth of Russia, but a rebirth is possible only on new economic foundations. This is the proclaimed sovereignty, as well as defining the functions of the republics, including the Russian Federation, and of the center and so to speak of the strategic task this is preparation for and transfer to a market economy.

As for the concrete directions in the work within the 500-day program they have been highlighted by a coauthor of the program and deputy premier of Russia heading the Commission for Economic Reform, Grigory Yablinski. In many cases, government property should be given over to the people, labor staffs and farmers working on it. During the same period money should become money so that earnings would guarantee a decent living. A system should be introduced that would lower state control over the economy and make it more manageable on the basis of economic methods.

The next point is the oppeness of the economy, and I would want to single out the system of social gurantees. The same program implies competition and, what is

most important, the gist of the program, its key objective, is to guarantee every person a decent life.

You may ask why 500 days. The point is, Ivan Silayev said, that unlike the national program, the economic plan of the Russian government sets definite time limits, names concrete officials in charge and provides for certain alternatives in case of any deviations from the original plan. The time count will start from the day the program is approved by the autumn session of the Russian parliament. [end recording]

Silayev, Others View Republic Plans, Economy

LD1308223590

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1415 GMT on 13 August carries a 75-minute live phone-in program entitled "Economy and Us," presented by Valentin Fedorovich Dvinin, who says that it will enable viewers to find out first-hand about the plans of the new Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic (RSFSR) Government. Dvinin gives telephone numbers and introduces the participants:

Ivan Stepanovich Silayev, chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers:

Grigoriy Alekseyevich Yavlinskiy, deputy chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers and head of the republic's commission on economic reform; he is also a member of the working group formed by Gorbachev to draft a unified outline plan for transition to the market economy;

Gennadiy Vasiliyevich Kulik, first deputy chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers and minister of agriculture and food; and

Boris Grigoriyevich Fedorov, RSFSR minister of finance.

Dvinin says that Filshin, deputy chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers, was also to have taken part, but he is still away on business.

Silayev begins by outlining the general tasks facing the new government in terms of the strategic tasks, the preparations for and transition to the market economy, and the tactical tasks, measures to deal with current matters, and preparations for 1991. The new government has been working for a month now. Although the members are nearly all new to the job, "quite energetic work is in progress, both on forming the principles of economic strategy and on resolving current problems. But no current problems can overshadow the main tasks, and the main one, as I have said, is the revival of Russia, primarily revival of the rural areas, via the economy. So the government' main attention is devoted to drafting the economic program for the Russian Federation in the new economic conditions, in market conditions, in fact."

Dvinin asks: "In connection with this, as it happens, a whole series of preliminary questions concern the program of primary measures which has gained the title "the 500-day program"—sometimes they say 400 days. What can you tell our viewers about this?"

Silayev replies: "I would not want to speak in detail about this program, I think that one of the authors, or rather the leader of this program, Grigory Vasiliyevich Yavlinskiy, can talk about it better."

Yavlinskiy says: "First, I would like to say that the program which has gained the title "500 days" and is well known under that name is a very broad program which embraces the transformations in society and the republic in the most varied of aspects. It is not purely an economic or purely professional kind of program. The first steps in this program have begun to happen, and the First Congress of RSFSR People's Deputies started making the first steps, as we all know. The first congress adopted decisions on the sovereignty of Russia, on the division of functions in the area of state control and the management of the economy—a most important step—and it also outlined the main guidelines, and following that the corresponding decisions connected with ownership, with banking, with the financial system were adopted. A foreign trade bank and foreign economic banks are now being created. So these are, so to speak, the main guidelines for what work is being done and in which areas.

"To speak in particular about the economic part, the intent of it is that ownership is being handed—state ownership in many cases, mainly—is to be handed over directly to the producers, people, labor collectives, and peasants. In the same period, money has to become real money, such as to give people an interest, for wages to be worth something, so you don't feel humiliated in the stores, and such as to provide the opportunity to live decently. We have to put into effect a system of measures which would lead to a reduction in state control of the economy, and an enhancement of manageability of the economy, on the other hand, on the basis of economic methods.

"The next point is openness in the economy. Something I would like to stress in particular is a detailed and ramified system of social guarantees. I would probably say, not so much a system of social protection, the program does not envisage any kind of attack on the population, it envisages a decent life, and so it is not a question of protection, but of social guarantees which the state will be able to use all its power and all its economic methods to ensure for people. The program also provides for competition.

"And most importantly, the quintessential point of the program, its most important aim, is to ensure a decent life for every citizen, to ensure a decent life in the sense that every citizen should have his part to play, be able to participate in the common cause, and on this basis

provide for himself and his family. Such are the main guidelines of the program, its heart".

Dvinin says this reply answers other questions about the nature of the problem as well.

Silayev interrupts: "If I may interrupt, why 500? This progam is most typified by the fact that it envisages specific events, specific implementers, and specific deadlines, tied together in time and interlinked, with certain fallbacks if any deviations from what has been devised should occur. That is, the program is linked to a certain timescale, and the countdown for that timescale begins when the program is confirmed. I stress this, because some people are already reckoning that the countdown process begins from the moment of confirmation of the government. I stress that it begins once the program is confirmed. As is known, this is expected at the fall session."

Dvinin says he has a question specifically for Kulik: "Boris Vasiliyevich Kulikov from Verkhniy Volochok, Tver Oblast, asks this: I have been going to the harvest around the country for more than 10 years, but I have never seen such a mess as this year before. How did such unpreparedness come about? Who will be made liable for this? What does the Council of Ministers intend to do in such a situation? Why, knowing about the harvest this year, did they do nothing? Gennadiy Vasiliyevich, please."

Kulik answers: "I think that you will give me the chance later to talk about the reform planned in the agro-industrial complex, as we proceed in talking about sorting this problem out. But as far as this problem is concerned, I would like to say this. Of course, it would be unobjective and incorrect for the responsibility for the negative processes in the national economy which occur in the republic to be borne by a government which has received only one monthly wage packet. So I would like to say what the government has done to put this mess right and not to lose the harvest. The harvest is indeed a good one.

"First, I would like to note that for the first time in many years the government has chosen to gamble on the people, on their having an interest, and so that is why there was the appeal from Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin. In accordance with this appeal the government has drafted and adopted a program for enhancing the interest of all those engaged in gathering in the harvest, in the form of sales of goods in short supply according to Harvest-90 coupons, which is being done for the first time ever, by the way, in the history of the functioning of the government. Villagers will be sold goods worth 10-12 billion rubles from the harvest which is saved and stored in the granaries.

"The second thing the government has done: understanding the need for the adoption of urgent measures, we have today adopted a decision and 17,500 goods vehicles have been sent from industrial centers and towns to help villagers. Today there are approximately 650,000 people working in the fields.

"Some 24 areas, as of yesterday, on the basis of the government's decision have declared an emergency. Literally everything has been mobilized. And I would like to say that the rate of work has increased considerably in recent days. Let's put it like this: Fifteen days ago we were approximately 15-20 percent behind last year in the laying-in of fodder. I think that as of the 10th we will reach last year's level. Although there is much work ahead—and in this sense the government is adopting operational measures on every issue; this is particularly connected with the provision of fuel and spares and so forth—I would like to put it like this, that alongside the unconventional measures that I have already spoken about, we are also keeping matters in hand in a prompt fashion, and we are helping in this situation to complete the harvest with the minimum losses."

Dvinin notes several questions are for Fedorov as minister of finances: "Nina Ivanovna Petrova from Moscow asks if savings accounts deposits will really be frozen. Shishkina, from Vyazniki, Vladimir Oblast, asks whether a fiscal reform is expected in the immediate future, and if so how will money be exchanged? Finally, Valentina Nikolayevna Kovalenko—I do not know where she is from—asks to be told about the reorganization of the banking system of the RSFSR."

Fedorov explains: to start with, freezing the deposits—I believe that this question has arisen in connection with a PRAVDA article about the work of a group set up on the initiative of Comrades Yeltsin and Gorbachev. The variant whereby freezing is being investigated was mentioned there. Let me say that, first, the group has failed to reach a unanimous view. Let me voice my own viewpoint, which is that fiscal reforms and freezing of deposits in peacetime are detrimental to the population and that they are unacceptable. It can be seen as a most extraordinary measure, at a time when the disaster has, so to put it, reached its absolute limit. I believe that we have very many instruments of economic policy, especially of the credits and financial policy, instruments which can be used and we will insist that they should be used. Hence, it is my viewpoint that neither fiscal reform nor the freezing of deposits can be seen as a guideline, for our economic policy in the immediate future.

"As for the reorganization of the banking system, it is a natural process which stems from the declaration on the RSFSR's state sovereignty. An independent central RSFSR bank has been set up. Work is under way to commercialize, to turn into commercial banks the special banks which operate on the RSFSR's territory. Here, too, it must clearly be stated that we are not in favor of any bank war or any confrontation. We oppose destroying the existing system of payments and credits. But what we do favor is that the process of banking reforms should be speeded up as soon as possible, so that banks become banks and money becomes money.

"Here, I would also say that we, in particular the RSFSR Ministry of finances, together with the USSR state banks, are already carrying out much work to work out documents which would set out the norms, in particular the law on the RSFSR state bank, the law on banks, the law on fiscal and credit regulations, and these, in our view, will form part of the reforms coming our way in the immediate future, reforms which will create a civilized economy in general and in this area in particular. This, then, is my answer, generally speaking."

Dvinin asks Silayev three questions: How will the Russian government cooperate with the all-Union Government? How is the government of Russia going to stop the deals concluded by the all-Union Government to sell diamonds, oil, and other valuable commodities of Russia? If one were to assume that the central bodies dissolve themselves tomorrow, would it be easier or more difficult for the Russian government to tackle the problems of the Russian Republic?

Silayev begins by supplementing Kulik's remarks about the harvest. He does not believe that harvest time brings everything to a halt in any other country. It is the centralized system that has existed to date that is to blame here, and the transition to economic principles will remove this problem.

As regards the questions, Silayev says that sovereignty must be implemented for real to ensure that there is good cooperation among the Union republics and between a Union republic and the center. New interaction structures must be developed. The adoption of the new Union treaty will facilitate this task. The principle here must be maximum independence on all issues, economic, social and national.

Silayev continues: "As for the deals concerning the sales of diamonds and so forth, it is known that the congress proclaimed the Russian Federation's sovereignty and sovereign rights to all natural resources and all natural wealth. This pertains, too, to such strategic resources—for this is now we will call it—such strategic resources as oil, coal, metals, diamonds, and gold. There is no doubt that this priority must be implemented along all directions, as it were. In particular, the Supreme Soviet recently adopted a decision which demands that the center agrees on any new steps connected with the utilization of resources from Russia's territory with the leadership of the Russian Federation and the steps which damage Russia's interests will, in accordance with the declaration, be declared illegal."

He says that a federative structure presupposes that some powers are voluntarily given to the all-Union Government as the central executive body, so it is impossible for the government to cease to exist. It could only happen if each republic went completely its own way, having declared itself to be a completely independent state. But the decisions being taken in many republics by their supreme soviets or congresses testify to the fact that this is not the case.

Asked whether Russia will be among the leading countries with a market economy, Yavlinskiy replies that Russia has objective prerequisites for its economy to be effective and growth-orientated. As for guarantees that Russia will be among the leading market economy countries, Yavlinskiy says there is a guarantee that if we fail to carry out this transition to market economy, Russia will find itself in the most backward group of countries. The future depends on us all, he notes.

Kulik says: "Yevgeniy Fedorivich Lomakin from Moscow asks a very interesting question. It is pointed, but very topical: When will laws protecting the peasant from the tyranny of local authorities be adopted? So, I understand it that this concerns land reform, the possibility to engage in peasant farming in the countryside, and other problems connected with this issue.

"What would I like to say? Among the first major drafts for legislation the republic's government is preparing a law on land reform in the republic. It will be submitted in the near future for consideration by the Supreme Soviet. I will say this law is fundamental from the viewpoint of conducting the economic reform in the agro-industrial complex, in rural areas, as well. Without opening up all the contents of this very big document, I would just like to reply to the question asked by Comrade Lomakin.

"We want to create an instrument so that every citizen can realize his right to take land into his possession. To this end—the Supreme Soviet will discuss it, of course, and various decisions might be adopted, but at the moment, at the stage of drafting, with the participation of scientists and experts—the following procedure is proposed: If a member of a kolkhoz [collective farm] or sovkhoz [state farm] wishes to leave the farm and create his own peasant farm, then it will suffice to hand in an application, and the fact of handing it in will be reckoned as his retirement from the kolkhoz or sovkhoz in order to run his own farm.

"The draft land law also envisages specific solutions of the acute problems of providing land for those who have decided to move to the country from towns, from working settlements or other sites and to engage in agricultural production. To this end it is proposed to form a special land reserve at the disposal of local soviets, and the decision of a rayon soviet executive committee to allocate land to someone who wants it will be final. Of course, this right will be granted in the first place to those living in the locality where the land reserve is being formed, and this will be stipulated in the law.

"Naturally, the right to get land and to run an independent peasant farm is desirable, and we are reckoning on it being carried out on a competitive basis, for people to be trained to do this very complex and responsible work. Morever, we intend to form this land reserve in such a way that the land is confiscated not only from the farms which make poor use of it, but also to take some of the land from the farms with medium productivity, so as to

really place all forms of farm management on equal conditions, so that it does not end up with us offering the independent farmer the worst and lowest quality land and then telling all of society: See, we warned you that they wouldn't do anything to add to growth of output of produce. It is stipulated in the law that this does not happen.

"So, with the adoption of this law, which I repeat is already on the agenda for the next session of the Supreme Soviet, what the comrades are concerned about will be resolved clearly, at the level of the law, and this will provide a guarantee for any citizen of Russia to take advantage of this right."

Fedorov reports: "Vladimir Aleksandrovich Martynov of Moscow asks: Will there be an issue of Russian money? As long as issues are in the hands of the Union Government, there will be no success in doing anything in the RSFSR. And there is a similar question from Aleksey Alekseyevich Rogachev: Will the value of the ruble change if a currency reform is carried out?

"Well, it has to be said that at present we are not posing the task of creating our own money. So far we are posing the task of trying to make it such that if we are to keep a unified monetary unit, then it should be a hard one; modern methods of money and credit regulation should be introduced, and other economic instruments should be adopted in order for money to be real money. Of course, at the present stage it is hard to do anything at all. If the Union Government continues with the practice, for example, such as the recently issued resolution on retail trade for hard currency, which shows a total lack of understanding within the Union Government of the laws of circulation of money, since, for example, a hard currency store is declared as exports, so that there is some sort of exports within the country—naturally, in such conditions, it is quite impossible to say that we will adhere to the system that exists at present, it is simply not permissable.

"Several years of banking reform have passed, but the USSR State Bank has not become a central bank. It cannot regulate the buying power of the ruble. And so, if as a result of the actions we are now adopting a genuine monetary union is not created and measures are not adopted to strengthen the ruble, then we will have to adopt quite radical measures, maybe unilaterally."

Fedorov replies to other questions; saying that a law on taxes is needed and he expects to see one passed in the fall; specialized commerical banks are needed, and various types will probably come into being; a general solution is needed to the problems of ports working in hard currency, rather than a case by case approach.

Silayev says: "I have this question from Comrade Aleksandr Sidorovich Kargin—the town is not stated: Why is it that at such a difficult time, when harvesting is underway out in the fields, our leadership goes off on official trips; Comrade Yeltsin, head of Russia, is traveling around the country?

"It seems to me that Comrade Yeltsin went on his trip around the country at a time when it was most needed. The point is that you must not regard seasonal problems as the most difficult time. Moreover, these problems are conditioned by an unprecedented harvest. May God give us more of such difficulties. At present, however, it is the Russian Federation's serious economic situation that is the main difficulty. This, naturally, reflects itself in our citizens' social position and in mnay aspects of the economic activities. That is why it is in this area that the main difficulties lie. We are now getting ready for the fall session of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet at which numerous and most important laws are to be passed. So, without having taken counsel of the working people, without having felt what sort of processes are taking place in the real situation, it would be difficult not to err when adopting specific laws. That is why it seems to me that Comrade Yeltsin's trip is very timely. It's purpose is precisely to get to understand and to feel what the Russian people are worried about, and to discuss with the people yet again the paths and directions we are taking and then to act without making any mistakes."

Dvinin says one listener said Bryansk Oblast is waiting impatiently for Yeltsin. Other questions are: Why is it that a market to deal in land and construction materials is not being set up? Why is it that budget expenditure on Army's upkeep and foreign aid is not subject to discussion? Why is it that the selling off of enterprises is being held back? When will a market to deal in apartments be set up?

Relevant laws will be passed, Silayev says. Some laws will be linked with the privatization of land plots. This will be done during the fall session. Silayev adds that income from production ought to stay in Russia, at the disposal of labor collectives, local authorities, and the republic. "As for the Union budget, we will contribute to it as much as is necessary to fulfill the functions which the republic, the Russian Rederation in particular, will hand over to the Union Government. Hence, we will of course demand that all items of the Union budget are presented to us, and we will agree only with those which are directed at implementing the functions handed over to the Union Government."

Silayev reads a question about giving a free economic zone to Kaliningrad Oblast. He says that the government has been instructed to work out a mechanism within two months and is working on it now.

Will the Maritime Kray get a free enterprise zone and not just Nakhodka alone? Silayev says both will get such a zone.

Concerns are now replacing ministries, but to whom will factories which form no part of these concerns be subordinated? Silayev replies: Our aim is not to subordinate but to create proper conditions for the independent functioning of economic structures. We have no intention to tie up the initiative of concerns, except for normal government prerogatives in the form of benefits

or regulatory measures such as may be needed from time to time when, for instance, the economy overheats. Our Ministry of Industry will strive to ensure that enterprises are successful. We will especially encourage small enterprises as being most adapted to market economy, Silayev promises.

Dvinin addresses him: "Ivan Stepanovich, a personal question to you from Oleg Aleksandrovich Gorbulya from Moscow, who asks whether Ivan Stepanovich intends to leave the CPSU to show solidarity with Yeltsin, to fulfill more fully the decisions aimed at the peoples of Russia achieving prosperity."

Silayev replies: "In one way or another I have already answered a similar question on All-Union Radio. Let me repeat: There we were talking of my CPSU membership, and it was a rather serious conversation. One of Russia's inhabitants, a woman, reproached me here. I want to say that, in the first place, I seriously discussed my CPSU membership with Comrade Yeltsin before agreeing to stay. At present the CPSU and its Central Committee is a rather serious political force one cannot but reckon with, naturally. Participation in one of the bodies of this force—being a Communist for, otherwise, one cannot actually be a Central Committee member, of course, well—participation in a body such as the Central Committee is very important to defend our Russian positions there and not just simply to vote automatically and to approve ceaselessly, for it will not be this principle that will lie at the basis of it. As for my membership, simply, I cannot for the time being see it as an impediment and I intend to serve Russia and to be strictly guided by the decisions that have been adopted, both the decisions that have already been made and those that are yet to be made. It is my sacred duty and I will strictly fulfill them."

Yavlinskiy says: "A question from Nikolay Fedorovich Titov from Energodar: If the economic reform gets ahead of political reform, won't we end up as a consequence with the Chinese variant when we get on our feet? Well, in fact, if it does go that way, then it is very probable that events, extremely unpleasant ones, similar to the Chinese ones would happen. But, as it happens, the situation is the other way around. Today the situation is that the reform has been standing still for a long time now, but the political transformations are continuing, and now unpleasantness something like the Chinese ones might come about because the political reform is getting further and further ahead, but the economic reform is standing still. So the most important thing now is to embark in the coming months on real steps in the sphere of economic reform.

"Another question, which seems to concern many people is asked by Ivan Sidorov from Lipetsk: Doesn't it seem to you that the transition to the market economy has not objective but subjective reasons, that is, the refusal or unwillingness of the leadership of the country and the republic to manage the economy competently? Well, first, in order to manage the economy in market economy conditions you have to be considerably mnore competent than in conditions of any other economy; and second, I can reply clearly that it does not seem so to me. I consider that this transition is brought about by objective circumstances."

Kulik tells ia viewer who works in a Chernozem Zone agro-industrial comnmittee who asked when they are to be abolished; that this has already been decided, and new structures under the Ministry of Agriculture and Food are being established.

A viewer asks for Kulik's opinion about lease-contracting; Kulik says he is in favor of new forms of management in general and gives examples of successful lease-contracting enterprises.

Asked about the role of the Selkhoztekhnika agricultural machinery centers, Kulik replies these should change from being distributors of centrally allocated technical supplies and become commercial middlemen between farm and equipment manufacturers.

Kulik reads another question: "Comrade Kulik, you are no newcomer to agriculture. There is an unprecedented shortage of fruit and vegetables in the cities—and that is in the season! Say something specific. This question comes from Mytishchi, from Vera Ivanovna Nesmeyanova.

"Well, since the question is posed head on, I will answer head on about how the situation actually stands. Indeed, at the beginning of August approximately 84 percent of last year's level of fruit and vegetables were being sold per day by Moscow. Of course, there is no call to speak of abundance, because there was not enough fruit and vegetable produce last year either. The main cause, I will say plainly, is the weakness of the links between the city and the towns of Moscow Oblast, and the agro-industrial complex of Moscow Oblast, the kolkhozes and sovkhozes. As of 7 August, of 11 million residents of the city of Moscow, there were 2,023 people working on the vegetable harvest, while in normal years approximately 25,000-30,000 used to help harvest vegetables and potatoes.

"I agree with Ivan Stepanovich, who has observed that this is not a civilized method. I entirely agree, but evidently, in the period when there is a lack of technical equipment for farms, where there is, today, no economic mechanism, this has become a bottleneck. We have examined this issue together with the Moscow Soviet, the situation is improving, and in recent days we have reached a level even a little higher than last year's for sales of fruit and vegetables in the city of Moscow, and 6,500 tonnes of this produce is being sold. We will continue this work. The produce exists, not only on the farms of Moscow Oblast, but also in Astrakhan, Rostov, and Krasnodar. I will say that regarding this there is help from the government. It has provided extra containers and transport, and so the situation should improve."

Dvinin says that there have been a number of calls about the role of trade unions and their relationship with the government. Silayev says he has several more on the topic. He says the government would like to see trade unions operate as they do in other countries, protecting the interests of their members. There is no objection to the militia having trade unions.

Silayev leafs through other questions: "Comrade Petr Alekseyevich Maksimov from Tallin asks about how the question of Russians living in Estonia is being resolved. How is the RSFSR government tackling this question? Especially for us pensioners? The next question is asked by Comrade Nina Ivanivna Fedorchenko from Kishinev: How can our state live with many citizenships? How many citizenships can we have in the USSR? Can people in our country move freely from Kamchatka to the Baltic and freely swap apartments? What state language should be adopted in our country? This concerns all our republics. And how are Russian people to live in the other republic of our country? Further, Comrade Yumashin—where from is not written down—asks: When the treaty with the Baltic republics is being signed, is the desire of the Russian-speaking population being taken into account if they want to leave the Baltic republics' territory if they secede from the USSR? What intentions does the USSR Government have on this issue? I cannot reply to this question in particular, I do not know right now what the intentions of the USSR Government are at present. Further there is a question on the same theme form Georgiy Grigoryevich Klimchuk of Moscow: In the framework of the Union treaty, how will the rights and inviolability of Russian people on the territory of the Baltic republics be guaranteed?

"I would like to reply thus to these questions, which are much the same. We intend—the government, that is—to draft a law—the Supreme Soviet is working on this—and to adopt a law on the status of citizens of the RSFSR wherever they may be, having in mind that we will assume the obligation to protect their interests, wherever they may live. There are many questions connected with the republics, with the intentions of the republics, these are reflected here, and they will be reflected in the Union treaty. As far as citizenship is concerned, there is nothing bad in the fact that dual citizenship is emerging, for instance, a citizen of the RSFSR and citizen of the USSR.

"There is a question here in these notes: All governments strive to have big, unified states. It seems to me that Yeltsin's government is presently striving for the collapse of the USSR. I would like to remind Comrade Yumashin that the first of the republics to declare sovereignty was the First Congress of RSFSR People's Deputies, and it was the first to state in its program that the Russian Federation stands precisely for a federative union of republics and does not intend to secede from the USSR. And also our later steps provide no grounds to say that we are striving for its collapse. We are striving for enhancement of economic, cultural and other forms of independence, and such is our right. In this case, I must say in this situation that unfortunately history has brought it about that the peoples of the Russian Federation today have fewer rights compared to those of other Union republics, and I would ask people not to perceive our position of standing up for the dignity of our citizens of the RSFSR and the aspiration of the leadership of the Republic to be more independent and to utilize its economic and natural potential in the interests of the republic's prosperity. This is a quite civic-minded stance. I cannot agree that this is leading or might lead to a collapse of the Soviet Union."

Fedorov says: "There are again very many questions about the fiscal reform, the introduction of a Russian ruble, or some other, alternative variants. I must say that there is no panacea in this sphere. There are proposals which are being foisted on us to link the ruble with gold again, say, or to return to the so-called gold standard. Others say everything must be done by means of cash only and that it is the remedy. I believe that there are no magic wands here, and those who seek very simple decisions are, as it were, evading what is, perhaps, an arduous, tedious, but, nevertheless, very professional work to set up a fiscal system, to reform it and to put it to rights. As I have already said, the introduction of a Russian ruble, so to speak, will be merely an enforced measure if the Union as a whole fails to go for a normal fiscal system, for normal money."

Viewers ask: Where does hard currency obtained through sales of caviar and honey go? The government ought to give us clear statistical data about our foreign debt, broken down into timescales, countries, hard currencies. Let the balance of payments be published. How is hard currency spent? Where does the revenue from gold sales go?

Fedorov replies that the final figure of foreign debt to be reached, and then not a single dollar ought to be taken as credit without the participation and consent of the republics. The way to pay our foreign debts ought to be reached through talks with the republics, to determine how everyone will participate in paying it off, so that Russia is not left bearing the brunt.

Another question is: Is it possible to stabilize the economy of Russia if the central USSR bank prints R50 million a day? The task, Fedorov says, is to turn off all the inflationary taps. We must not ourselves encourage inflationary processes, such as, for instance, the State Bank of Russia giving credits to the government. "The policy which, for the time being, is being pursued at the center, significantly harms the ruble's purchasing power," he warns.

Yavlinskiy reads a question: What measures are provided to prevent the privatized Russian economy from being taken over by the wheeler-dealers of the shadow economy? Yavlinskiy says that we are working on this now. Glasnost and control by the soviets ought to be the best guarantee here.

How will the future market economy of Russia differ from elsewhere? Market economy has its specific characteristics in all countries, defined by culture, history, national traditions, he says. No one will impose a market economy on people. We must free people so that they are able to engage in free economic activities; this would be the first step toward market economy. As for the program-500, now being prepared for the Supreme Soviet session and embracing all problems, cultural, educational problems, and problems affecting the agricultural complex, one can familiarize oneself with the economic part of this program in DELOVOY MIR of 31 July 1990.

Asked about price rises, Yavlinskiy doubts that the program will recommend administrative price hikes, for there is no justification of any weight for such a step, and this what he intends to argue for.

Replying to a question that suggested Silayev's program plagiarizes the Ryzhkov and Gorbachev programs, to another question that suggested that thanks to Silayev's and Yeltsin's efforts the country is splitting up into individual principalities, and to a question that suggested that despite assurances concerning social guarantees Silayev's program makes it possible for the homegrown mafia to buy up many enterprises, Silayev says he has already replied to the second question earlier, Yavlinskiy replied to the third question, and so he would just like to reply to the first question.

He denies that there is such a thing as the Silayev program. There is a Russian Federation program, and we have been talking of it today. Union and republican programs cannot be identical. Silayev sasys Russia's leadership is for economic independence and freedom and for creating essential prerequisites facilitating this. The main difference between the republic and the Union leadership is that the latter is in no hurry to grant independence to many enterprises which are ready for it. The Russian government will support to the utmost people's efforts aimed at greater economic independence and any moves toward the development of the republic and toward the republic's gaining sovereignty.

Dvinin concludes by saying that television viewers wish the young Russian government luck, and he thanks everyone for taking part.

Polozkov Previews Second Stage of Russian Party

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[Interview with I.K. Polozkov, first secretary of the RSFSR Communist Party Central Committee and member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, by PRAVDA correspondent V. Sergeyev; place and date not given: "Toward Prestige—Through Actions"— first paragraph is an editorial introduction]

[Text] Ivan Kuzmich Polozkov comes from a family of hereditary Kursk peasants and personally experienced the disastrous war and postwar period which befell the Russian countryside. He started out as a kolkhoz [collective farm] worker. His party work dates from 1957: first in the heart of the countryside, then in Kursk Obkom [Oblast Party Committee], later as a CPSU Central Committee instructor. For the last six years he was first secretary of Krasnodar CPSU Kraykom [Kray Committee]. In June of this year he was elected first secretary of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Communist Party Central Committee at the RSFSR Communist Party Founding Congress.

[Sergeyev] Ivan Kuzmich, as is well known, active preparation is now under way for the second stage of the congress of Russia's Communists. What influence will the 28th CPSU Congress have on it, in your view?

[Polozkov] I will begin by saying that this influence is already making itself felt very powerfully today, in the period of preparation for the second stage. To clarify what we are talking about, I will recall a most important result of the 28th congress: The CPSU adopted a course for the decisive renewal of socialism, for consolidation. Attempts to split the party on the part of those whom the people, and indeed the press, had already christened the aggressive-radical minority, far from culminating in success, in fact provoked a counter-impetus toward the unification of all the healthy forces in the party. Remember how some irate critics trimmed their sails during the CPSU congress. At first they loudly declared that the makeup of the delegates was conservative, and even delivered ultimatums on this basis. But when the time came to adopt resolutions and the delegates proved to be extremely progressive, the tone of the commentaries altered: In the course of the struggle, they said, democratic tendencies have triumphed. And when several delegates stated that they were leaving the CPSU, they justified this decision not in terms of the conservative character of the congress, but in terms of a desire for "nonparty status." Although the "nonparty status" of a politician is a phenomenon so startling as to be worthy of the Guinness Book of Records.

In actual fact neither the initial declarations of the congress' critics nor their "last-minute" maneuvers correspond to the reality. A decisive majority of delegates displayed political wisdom at all stages of the congress, rejecting extremes. They showed themselves to be people worthy and capable of providing a profound analysis of the present time and making the correct inferences from this analysis. And the main inference, as I have already said, is the continuation of the course toward perestroyka and party unity. Moreover, the decisive fact is, in my view, that this unity was achieved not by rejecting different views and cementing some single standpoint, but on the basis of taking the different nuances of party thought into consideration. This is truly democratic unity!

Here I return to the second stage of the congress of Russia's Communists. (Let me remark in parentheses: To this day there are forces in operation who consider this congress and my election unlawful.) It is the

approach that was established at the the 28th CPSU Congress that we are using now. Representatives of the various tendencies that have arisen in the CPSU work side by side in the preparatory committee. Every congress delegate, and indeed, every Communist, has the right to submit his own proposals. At times heated, though fruitful, debates take place in the preparatory committee. All points of view are considered, provided they meet the main criterion—commitment to the socialist choice and the communist perspective. The underlying principles that were declared by the CPSU congress.

[Sergeyev] Although there is still no law on parties and social organizations, a multiparty system is becoming a reality of its own accord, so to speak. What do you see as the CPSU's role in these new conditions?

[Polozkov] The interpretation of the CPSU's new role in society began late, and hence not without damage to the party's prestige. But today there is no time to don sackcloth and ashes—we must act! That, incidentally, is why we have called the main document to be discussed at the second stage of the congress the Action Program. Communists must focus their attention on active participation in the socialist renewal of society, and also these fundamental questions: Whose political interests does the CPSU express? What is its social base? Should the party maintain class standpoints, without counterposing them to panhuman standpoints? This is where the watershed lies today. And, to talk on the grand scale, it is here that the border between life and elimination lies today for the CPSU.

Analysis of the present time forces us to look soberly at the development of sociopolitical processes in the country. Events in various regions are not developing favorably. According to data from the State Committee for Statistics, in the first six months of the year the volume of production decreased, and this aggravates the situation in the consumer market and leads to a deterioration in the standard of living. Every Soviet citizen feels this. Please note: People again want to pin the blame on the CPSU for this. But after all, in the initial stage the transition to a regulated market economy also hits the vital interests of the working people. This, alas, is inevitable, as the experience of East European countries moving toward the market ahead of us testifies. In the event of the unsuccessful development of events, mass unemployment is not ruled out.

In these conditions the question arises acutely: Do we have in the country a political party which will assume the unrelenting defense of the interests of the working people from the disasters which may arise in the initial stage of the transition to market economy? We must, we are simply obliged to go back to the roots and tell the people loud and clear: Yes, there is such a party! A party which in the difficult hour of nationwide trials will be able to reliably protect the class interests of the working people. It is the party of Communists!

And, if we are talking about the CPSU's new role in society, then at the present stage I see this role as follows: Defending the interests of the working class, the peasantry, the intelligentsia, and all the working people. I would like to use the following unscientific, colloquial, but generally accessible concept: Communists today must express the interests of people who "live on their wages."

But the interests of the pharisees, money changers, and tradesmen driven out of the temple by Jesus, but rehabilitated subsequently by the pope—let some other party defend them. This is completely normal in multiparty conditions.

[Sergeyev] Ivan Kuzmich, could you not recount in more detail how you see the protection of the interests of the working people?

[Polozkov] The extremely complex problem of social protection in conditions of the transition to the market is being thrashed out at the present time in the preparatory committee of the second stage of the Russian congress and in commissions formed from members of the Russian Central Committee. Collective reasoning is needed here. At the present time I can talk only about individual proposals which will go into the Action Program. In particular, in conditions of growing shortages and rising prices, we are talking about putting the question this way: guaranteed supplies to the working class! I will not undertake to judge now in what form to best implement this demand—in the form of cards, rations, and coupons or in some other way. Here too it is essential to apply collective reasoning, it is necessary to work in close contact with the trade unions. But I am convinced that solving this task is essential: The working class, the peasantry, the labor intelligentsia—once again, all those who "live on their wages" and truly suffer in conditions of very severe shortages—must be given guarantees of the provision of essential everyday food products and goods. This is one important form of social protection of the working people. Moreover, I include, of course, in the category "essential and everyday goods" television sets, refrigerators, and other consumer durables without which it is impossible to get by in everyday life today.

[Sergeyev] You spoke about close contact with trade unions. But won't the party, in defending the interests of the working people, become a kind of "branch" of the trade unions?

[Polozkov] The goals of the Communist Party and the trade unions may coincide, but their methods of operation differ completely. The CPSU must operate by political methods. And this is where the political enlightenment of the masses comes in, so that, in the new, very complex atmosphere of the multiparty system, the working people learn to genuinely distinguish their true defenders from demagogues, who, under a smoke screen of populist phrases, are pursuing goals infinitely remote from the interests of the working people.

In this respect, I wish to recall Marx' famous words that whereas the proletariat fights for power, the bourgeoisie crawls toward it. These are words that are, it must be said, extraordinarily topical for the present day and age, when the transition to a market economy is opening up many gaps for these crawlers. Communists are bound to identify and expose them for what they really are in the eyes of the working people. Incidentally, it is by no means accidental that nowadays anticommunist forces are actively trying to bring about a collision between the workers' movement and the CPSU. They are greatly afraid that a renewed party, returning to the pure sources of its ideology, would receive powerful support from the toiling masses. I personally have no doubt that this will indeed happen. But for this to happen, Communists must strive to ensure that the market is subordinated to the interests of the working people. It must not become a carte blanche for the smooth operators of the shadow economy. To fight for this path of socioeconomic development and to politically educate the masses, interpreting the situation to them, is one of the CPSU's most important tasks in the current stage.

And in addition to this, of course, it is necessary to do a huge amount of work in the RSFSR Supreme Soviet and at congresses of people's deputies, and to use the right of initiating legislation widely to defend the working people's interests. Parliamentary activity is today acquiring a huge significance for the party, and the judgments of some "leftist" radicals who are trying to contrast the nationwide and parliamentary functions of the CPSU are simply naive. Both the one and the other are important!

It is appropriate to say here that the stormy public activity which our country is experiencing at the present time is on the whole extremely productive, and can undoubtedly be counted to perestroyka's credit. But in this respect one recalls the truly prophetic words of Plekhanov, who in the dawn of this century wrote: "The historical misfortune of meager Russian thought is that even in periods of its highest revolutionary elan, it succeeds extremely rarely in freeing itself from the influence of Western bourgeois thought." It is sad to admit that even today we are still partly experiencing this misfortune. Yet we have an extremely high revolutionary elan! And communists must follow the road bequeathed to them by Lenin: Giving up the monopoly on power, acknowledging and condemning the distortions of the past, they must defend the working people's interests.

[Sergeyev] You mentioned that should there be an unfavorable course of events, the market could become a carte blanche for the smooth operators of the shadow economy. What do you have in mind?

[Polozkov] Unfortunately, events of the present day permit one to forecast that shadow capital will strive for power—and is already striving for it. This is a characteristic of private capital in general: As soon as free money appears, those who possess it begin to claim their share of power. The more money, the larger the share of power demanded. And the image of the bighearted benefactor-businessman which some sections of the media love to portray is no more than political camouflage. Besides, this question requires special study, and I will restrict myself at present to just one seemingly small-scale, but typical, example illustrating the reality of our life.

Soviet tourists wishing to holiday abroad have to buy hard currency at market prices. But already millionaires have appeared who are willing to pay 35 rubles [R] a dollar at auctions. So $100, the daily price of a modest hotel room, comes to R3,500. How many would be able to lay out this kind of crazy money? In practice, the new system hits people on average incomes: They cannot go abroad on vacation. I say this because in the conditions of the transition to the market economy, and the possibility of a sharp property stratification, it is necessary to predict carefully the consequences of legislative innovations—would they not give the nouveaux riches carte blanche to accumulate millions by unjust means, to the detriment of the majority of working people?

[Sergeyev] In connection with the deterioration of interethnic relations in a number of areas of the country, there is an observable tendency for the Russian-speaking population to emigrate to the Russian Federation. What do you think about this?

[Polozkov] Indeed, it is a complex and sensitive question. Many generations have lived tens, or even hundreds of years, have given their skills and labor to this or that land, and are now forced to find themselves a new refuge. It is crazy. We are asking all Union republic party organizations to do everything in their power to ensure that people of all nationalities can live together peacefully. After all, more than 60 million people live outside their own national state territories. Imagine what would happen if, because of our inattention to this issue, they up and move. We, the communists of Russia, consider it our duty to do everything to stop this from happening.

Recently representatives of the Russian-speaking population living in one of the republics came to see me. They said: You are the leader of the parliamentary opposition, put pressure on the RSFSR government. I think that it would be nice if each republic, including Russia, were to adopt a law on guarantees of the rights and interests of citizens of all nationalities who reside on its territory. And if a person is forced to leave the republic, the republic should pay expenses for his accommodation elsewhere. Perhaps this question should be put on a legislative footing.

I think that everyone is clear that the problems we are talking about are exclusively political. Guaranteed supplies for people of low and average incomes, the return of Russians from other republics—this is after all our current reality from which there is no hiding behind resounding phrases. The time for talk has passed, the time has come for action. And I firmly believe that in the

sphere of action the RSFSR Communist Party will be able to win the working people's recognition.

[Sergeyev] By the way, Ivan Kuzmich, when will the second stage of the Russian Party Congress be held?

[Polozkov] It is scheduled for September.

[Sergeyev] And one more question: Where will the RSFSR Communist Party Central Committee have its premises?

[Polozkov] We have chosen the so-called "20th Entrance"—a detached building situated in the heart of a block on Kuybyshev Street. It is part of a group of CPSU Central Committee buildings. There is a small hall inside, where meetings with communists, plenums, and conferences can be held. In other words, we will not have to spend money on leasing premises.

[Sergeyev] And the last question, by now a traditional one for you. How do you respond to the attacks from some sections of the mass media?

[Polozkov] To be frank, I simply have no time to think about them, because there is a lot of business at the present time—specific and practical business. I am confident that the people will judge the Russian Communist Party on its deeds, not according to the verbal maneuverings of some press organs and individuals. And those who have fallen willy-nilly under the influence of these maneuverings will soon have their eyes opened. I repeat once again: We intend to act, act, and act...

Lukyanov Ends Tour of Karachayevo Oblast

LD1408202590 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 14 Aug 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Anatoliy Ivanovich Lukyanov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, has completed a tour of Karachayevo-Cherkess Autonomous Oblast.

[Correspondent N. Shibalkov] Anatoliy Ivanovich Lukyanov visited the [Ilichevskiy] kolkhoz in the morning. This farm is noteworthy for the fact that literally everything here, both the land and the means of production, has been handed over to leaseholders. They have now grown an excellent harvest: 65.4 quintals of grain per hectare. [video shows Lukyanov on farm with officials]

Here, meanwhile, is the location of (Inepol), a joint Soviet-Polish enterprise. It will start operating very soon. It will buy up wool from the population and turn it into yarn. Real care is taken of kolkhozniks at (Ilichevskiy). There are no problems here for those who have their own livestock: the kolkhoz provides them with feed in the same way as it does the holdings within the kolkhoz. [Video shows Lukyanov in factory with officials]

Then he visited the Cherkess chemical association, which has successfully assimilated new technology for producing paint and rejected the use of vegetable oil for this purpose. Up to 100,000 tonnes of valuable produce is saved per year. [video shows Lukyanov touring factory with officials]

Anatoliy Ivanovich Lukyanov met with representatives of labor collectives in the afternoon.

[Begin Lukyanov recording] What has most impressed me is, specifically, the people, the ordinary people, for whom to a significant extent the nationalities issue does not exist because, as here, there are 23 nationalities, and no one would now start drawing borders house by house, as there are so many mixed families here. A great deal is being done here to ensure both that the country has agricultural produce and that people can work well and have a decent life. But I have one impression which I cannot keep from you. The fact that you have sheltered Belorrussian children here is a colossal thing. They will never forget it. Decades will pass, but these children will remember what you are doing here. [video shows Lukyanov, flanked by officials, talking on factory steps] [end recording]

Bashkiria Adopts Emergency Harvest Measures

LD1508055990 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0330 GMT 15 Aug 90

[Text] The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of Bashkiria has adopted a decision on emergency measures to ensure that the harvest is gathered and fodder laid in in the republic. A republican headquarters headed by (Mirgayamov), the chairman of the republic's government, has begun operating. The decisions of the headquarters are binding on all enterprises and organizations in Bashkiria. Unfortunately, the lack of machinery and workers for the harvest is forcing a series of oblasts and even republics to declare emergency situations such as this.

Moscow City Examines Economic Plan Fulfillment

LD1508060290 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0130 GMT 15 Aug 90

[Text] On 14 August the Presidium of the Moscow City Executive Committee examined the fulfillment of the plan for the development of Moscow's national economy for the first six months of the year and the tasks involved in ensuring fulfillment of the plan. Analysis showed that the economic and social development of the city was inconsistent. Its structural restructuring is continuing, but at the same time, there has been no improvement in the health of the economy.

It was stressed that the basis of the negative phenomena has been laid over many years, but this can in no way serve as justification for the economic planners and Soviet officials who are not even attempting to introduce the new forms of labor organization. The decision adopted lays special emphasis on seeking out reserves for boosting production efficiency which are connected above all with the development of market forms of labor organization.

Yazov Decrees Handover of Army Land in Sakhalin

LD1308123190 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1100 GMT 13 Aug 90

[Text] The agricultural land area of Sakhalin has increased more than twofold. Soviet Defense Minister Yazov has signed a document on conducting an inventory of the lands occupied by the military department on the territory of Sakhalin Oblast and the handover of 50,000 hectares to the local authorities. This is a huge help for the island kray where there are only 0.05 hectares of ploughed land for each inhabitant. The Sakhalin Oblast Executive Committee intends to hand over part of the new lands for the disposal of small enterprises and cooperatives and to around 50,000 peasant holdings and private plots. A reserve of lands for new industrial construction will also be created.

Party Members Scored for Chelyabinsk Food Cache

LD1408170890 Moscow TASS in English 1630 GMT 14 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondent Yevgeniy Ikachenko]

[Text] People in the industrial city of Chelyabinsk in the south Ural mountains are up in arms after spot checks by local councillors and public inspectors uncovered large stocks of scarce foodstuffs in the stores of the regional Communist Party committee. Workers at many factories and even some party branches demanded the resignation of all local party leaders.

Although any direct abuse of office by the leaders in order to secure improved supplies for themselves has not been proved, some party members have quit in protest.

An emergency regional party plenum decided that all but two leaders should continue in office until a report-and-election conference next autumn. The two committee secretaries whose resignations it accepted had been responsible for working with trading industry personnel and for ideology.

The plenum also reprimanded regional party chief Aleksey Litovchenko.

Far from everyone, however, was satisfied with these punishments. For the first time ever, a rally, sponsored by the Worker Alliance, was held outside the regional party headquarters in the center of Chelyabinsk.

Although attended by under 400 people, it was a vocal affair, with Social Democrats and "Greens" adding punch and pitch to the criticisms.

Party functionaries were no idle onlookers. Several dozen apparatchiks led by Litovchenko joined the crowd for some three hours of blunt talking. All indications are, however, that neither side was able to convince the other.

The Worker Alliance has announced preparations for another rally.

Aftermath of Krasnoyarsk Ethnic Clashes Viewed

PM1508084390 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 Aug 90 Second Edition p 2

[Report by correspondent V. Trokhin under the rubric "Following the Event": "Lessons of Solnechnyy"]

[Text] Krasnoyarsk—At last, after many rallies and heated debates, passions in Solnechnyy have subsided somewhat. As we have already reported, clashes occurred there between representatives of an Azerbaijani compatriot association and local inhabitants. Today people are speaking of the conflict that occurred there even with a certain bewilderment: How could we allow such a thing...

A so-called provisional council of public-territorial self-management has been created in the city district. The council is endowed with great powers. It has the right to permit or prohibit particular activity on its territory, to register cooperatives and set taxes, and to conduct its own financial and economic affairs. Solnechnyy's share of the Sovetskiy Rayon Soviet budget will also be placed at the disposal of the self-management council. It is headed by V. Yermolov, deputy of the kray soviet and director of the Public Design and Technological Bureau of the "Krastyazhmash" Production Association's technical service station.

At an extraordinary session of Krasnoyarsk City Soviet, V. Yermolov evaluated the decision to send several groups of Azerbaijanis, mainly women and children, temporarily to Baku as a violation of human rights and of USSR legislation. That is Yermolov's opinion. The public evaluates that event somewhat differently. For the departure was voluntary, without coercion. Although, of course, it is easy to make such assessments now. But the chief thing at the time was to prevent the conflict escalating, which was achieved. More considered decisions came in the process of the conflict. For it was possible to accommodate a group of families in a Krasnoyarsk rest home, once again temporarily, until the full stabilization of the situation!

A commission from Baku, consisting of people's deputies, officials, and party workers, is now working in Krasnoyarsk. A delegation of Krasnoyarsk residents has flown to Azerbaijan in its turn, and they are empowered to explain the causes of the incident in the republic and to try to persuade those who left to return to Krasnoyarsk. Incidentally, measures have been taken to prevent possible cases of thefts from the apartments of the Azerbaijani families who have left Solnechnyy, and means are being sought to compensate them for losses.

Tribute must be paid here to the people's deputies who have been active in quelling passions. The voice of reason was heard.

Former Closed 'Atomic Town' Surveyed

LD1408165690 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 14 Aug 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Before the coming of glasnost there was a lot we did not know, not only about our history, but also our geography. People were living and working in towns that did not exist on the maps, sometimes right next to us, not to mention the roads and villages that were also considered secret. Our Chelyabinsk correspondent, Sergey Sergeyev, acquaints us with one such closed town which is gradually opening its doors to outside eyes. [video shows city, scenes inside a nuclear facility, footage of foreign visitors, men in white coats working in room with circular floor]

There are almost 100,000 people living here. It has its avenues and shops, its theater and museum, parks and squares, stadiums and sports halls and the most varied leisure facilities for the townsfolk: flowergrowing—they are lovely, are they not—and fishing. Such closed towns are called atomic towns by the people. Until recently outsiders' entry to the town, let alone for TV footage, was categorically forbidden because the people living and working here were engaged in not simply secret, but super-secret business,

In the city which arose in the remote Urals tayga soon after the end of the Great Patriotic War, a reliable atomic shield was created for our country. Work was conducted under the leadership of Academician Igor Vasiliyevich Kurchatov. The first devices were built to produce fissionable materials for atomic weapons. A nuclear bomb was manufactured, then tested. This building houses the central laboratory of the defense enterprise of the Mayak Chemicals combine, and here was Kurchatov's office.

Now the situation in the world has changed, and the Soviet Government has decided on the controlled halt of the production of weapons-grade plutonium, and specific steps are being taken in that direction. Recently a halt was put to the fourth atomic reactor in a row here; for many years they worked for military potential. Recently this secret town was visited by congressmen and journalists from the United States and also Japanese and American scientists and specialists in the sphere of atomic energy.

Of course, it would be good to plan gardens on the earth and grow flowers instead of manufacturing atomic bombs, but alas the international climate has not yet warmed up sufficiently to bring the end of the great confrontation of the mighty powers. Still, we are becoming more open and sincere, and less fearful. Here, in the closed town of Chelyabinsk-65—that is its name—the specifics of production are changing a little and moving to civilian lines, although conversion also is causing a multiplicity of problems.

Western Republics

Democratic Party of Gagauz People Founded

90UN2485A Kishinev MOLODEZH MOLDAVII in Russian 7 Jul 90 p 2

[Interview with Georgiy Arabadzhi, deputy chairman of the Democratic Party of Gagauz People, by MOLODEZH MOLDAVII correspondent L. Goldberg; place and date not specified: "Another Party"]

[Text] The constituent congress of a new party has convened in Komrat. It will be called the Democratic Party of Gagauz People. And this is the topic of conversation between our correspondent and Georgiy Arabadzhi, deputy chairman of the Democratic Party of Gagauz People.

[Goldberg] Until now, as we know, the most powerful social movement in the south of the republic has been "Gagauz Khalky" [Gagauz People]. Doesn't the birth of your party mean the birth of a political rival to this organization at the same time?

[Arabadzhi] By no means. Half the members of the Democratic Party of Gagauz People belong to "Gagauz Khalky" and absolutely everyone supports the program. We too are in favor of ratifying statehood for our people, in favor of all those transformations which from the very beginning have been the chief aim of the movement. "Gagauz Khalky" is not a party at all, however. Membership in it is in no way formalized; therefore, there are no common, clear-cut demands of anyone. If a person wants to, he comes to the sessions; if not, he doesn't come. If he wants to engage in the work, he does so; if not—what can you do? The principle is different in the Democratic Party of Gagauz People. Here everything is structured on personal responsibility and the obligation to execute any decisions—everything stipulated in our statutes.

[Goldberg] So, you already have statutes?

[Arabadzhi] Certainly. And a program as well. The most important thing in it, as I have stated, is the struggle for autonomy. But even if the goal is reached, it is not all that much. It is important that statehood be obtained not only by Gagauz in regions where they are in the majority, but by all Gagauz without exception.

[Goldberg] All right, let us say that you have achieved statehood and have united all Gagauz. What then? Can the party be disbanded?

[Arabadzhi] On the contrary. Here is where everything just begins. Whether there is autonomy or not, it is important to preserve the people as an ethnic entity. From this proceeds the task of the Democratic Party of Gagauz People—development of culture and native language. Language first, because this is what defines the people.

[Goldberg] And how do you envision this development?

[Arabadzhi] First of all we should recognize that our language is on the verge of disappearing. This is why we intend to begin the study of our native language right in kindergarten and open a network of ethnic schools.

[Goldberg] In other words, schools in which literally every subject is taught in Gagauz? But then complications will be unavoidable when it comes to entering institutes of higher education or technical colleges. Be it Kishinev or outside the republic, education is not conducted in Gagauz....

[Arabadzhi] First of all, we should have the necessary number of technical colleges and our own university. Secondly, no one intends today to force Russian language out of the schools. We are talking about teaching Gagauz language, literature, history. Then we will see.

[Goldberg] In proclaiming a certain policy in the cultural sphere, we obviously should not forget that without the economic foundation it is difficult to erect not just a university building, but a cultural and education center building as well.

[Arabadzhi] We have not forgotten. An entire section of our program is devoted to economic problems. The party intends to struggle to attain complete economic independence of the region and welcomes transition to a system of market relationships. The Democratic Party of Gagauz People favors diversity in forms of ownership—state, cooperative, shareholder, personal, and combined.

[Goldberg] In principle, much of what you state is contained in the programs of other parties as well.

[Arabadzhi] So? Why must everything someone else has be repudiated? If a concept is good it should be supported, even if it proceeds from the CPSU, which has made quite a number of mistakes. Let me add that the Democratic Party of Gagauz People strives in general for dialogue with any party—when our interests do not diverge, of course.

[Goldberg] And in the other case—confrontation?

[Arabadzhi] No, simply arguing our views using exclusively democratic methods. It is far from by chance that the word "democratic" appears in our name.

[Goldberg] As you know, N. Travkin also organized a democratic party, but this did not prevent some of the delegates to the constituent congress from leaving the hall because of the unity-of-command principle he proposed—entailing the undermining of democratic principles, in their view.

[Arabadzhi] I cannot agree with that view. We also elected a chairman—D. Savastin, member of the USSR Artists Union and director of the Komrat School of the Arts. And why not? After all, someone must coordinate activities and carry out the constant organizational work that comes up every day. All the more so now, when the party has just been born and everyone in it lives in the same city. But we are speaking in the name of all the people! Consequently, there must be Democratic Party of Gagauz People branches everywhere its representatives are found. And this means work, very painstaking work.

[Goldberg] I think there will be enough people who want to join the Democratic Party of Gagauz People, but will all who desire be accepted?

[Arabadzhi] Our statutes stipulate that any USSR citizen who has reached the age of 18 may become a member.

[Goldberg] Regardless of nationality? You are not just a party, but one "of Gagauz People."

[Arabadzhi] This has no significance. The important thing is that a person share our views and support the aspirations of Gagauz.

[Goldberg] And what about those who are already members of some party?

[Arabadzhi] This is another matter. If you belong to the Democratic Party of Gagauz People—be so kind as to belong to it and no other. We accepted three Communists only after they left the CPSU.

[Goldberg] The CPSU is a party—no question about that. But the VLKSM [All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League] is not. What happens if a Komsomol member applies with you?

[Arabadzhi] The terms are the same. For many years the Komsomol has been considered the combat reserve of Communists, so I do not see any great difference between the CPSU and VLKSM.

[Goldberg] In short, Democratic Party of Gagauz People advocates will have to part with their former party membership cards? And what do they get in exchange?

[Arabadzhi] New membership cards. We have practically already finished them, and have made provision for dues—R3 upon joining, and R2 per month.

[Goldberg] Where do you intend to spend this?

[Arabadzhi] Well, not on upkeep for the apparatus certainly—which, if it does exist, will be kept to a minimum in number.

Decision on Ukrainian Communist Party Principles

90UN2405B Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 30 Jun 90 p 1

["Resolution of the 28th Congress of the Ukrainian Communist Party on the Program Principles of the Activity of the Communist Party of the Ukraine]

[Text] 1. To approve, with regard for the discussion at the congress, the Program Principles of the Activity of the Communist Party of the Ukraine.

2. To propose that the party Central Committee and oblast, city, and rayon committees and primary party

organizations make the "Program Principles of the Activity of the Communist Party of the Ukraine" the basis of their practical work on accelerating and extending the restructuring processes in the republic and renewing the Communist Party of the Ukraine.

Draft Rules, Deputies

90UN2405C Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 30 Jun 90 p 1

["Resolution of the 28th Congress of the Ukrainian Communist Party on the Draft Rules of the Communist Party of the Ukraine (CPU), the Status of the Primary Party Organization, and the Status of a Delegate to the 28th Congress of the Ukrainian Communist Party"]

[Text] 1. To instruct the congress commission for preparation of a draft decision on rules of the Communist Party of the Ukraine and the newly elected Communist Party of the Ukraine Central Committee to complete the work on the draft rules with regard for the delegates' observations and proposals and to publish them for discussion in the party organizations and the mass media.

On the basis of the results of extensive discussion to examine the question of the Communist Party of the Ukraine Rules at the second stage of the 28th Congress of the Communist Party of the Ukraine.

2. The congress believes that the status of primary party organizations and the status of a delegate to the 28th Congress of the Communist Party of the Ukraine should be elaborated in concordance with the preparation of the Communist Party of the Ukraine Rules and the adoption of the new CPSU Rules and instructs the congress commission and the Communist Party of the Ukraine Central Committee, with the enlistment of the secretaries of the primary party organizations, to prepare proposals pertaining to these matters for examination by the second stage of the congress.

3. To consider it necessary that the Communist Party of the Ukraine Central Committee present to the Ukrainian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet by way of legislative initiative a draft Ukrainian SSR law on public organizations which determines the place, role, rights, and responsibility of parties and public associations and movements, and also their organizations in the social and political life of the republic.

Ukrainian Party Chief Gurenko Interviewed

90UN2408A Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 3 Jul 90 p 2

[UKRINFORM report on interview with S.I. Gurenko, first secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee, given to reporters of the Lvov Oblast newspapers VILNA UKRAINA and LVOVSKAYA PRAVDA; place and date not specified: "For Clarity of Political Positions"]

[Text] [Reporters] Permit us, first of all, esteemed Stanislav Ivanovich, to cordially congratulate you on your election to the high party office and to wish you success in your work. What do you see as the main directions of the activity of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee and the role of its first secretary under the conditions of the economic and social and political tension which have taken shape in society and the ways out of it?

[Gurenko] Thank you for the congratulations and the wishes.

Speaking of the directions of the activity of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee, I would like first of all to call your attention to the documents of our congress. After all, the main task of the Central Committee is to organize fulfillment of its decisions.

Note that it was for the first time in the history of the republic Communist Party that its congress adopted not only resolutions on the Central Committee report and a whole number of specific problems but also its own program document taking account of the sociopolitical singularities of the Ukraine and its national specifics.

Don't worry, I am not about to recount for you either the program principles of the activity of the Ukrainian Communist Party nor the congress resolutions, but I would very much advise you to get an impartial grasp of them and the Central Committee report. Because we will take these documents as the point of departure in the accomplishment of specific tasks, and they will determine the positions which the republic's delegates will take to the 28th CPSU Congress.

It is exceptionally important under the present conditions of the confusion of opinions and unbridled anticommunist propaganda that the congress unanimously advocated clarity of political positions. Neither ideas concerning a change in the party's name nor other versions of political mimicry were supported. The Central Committee thus obtained, essentially, the congress' mandate for the affirmation of the ideology of Marxism-Leninism and an intensification of the rebuff of manifestations of anticommunism.

I believe that there is much to be done here in the sense of a stimulation of our ideological subdivisions also and in the way of personal participation in the establishment of the party's ideals of the secretaries of the Central Committee and members of the Politburo. But the most important thing, perhaps, is to rid ourselves at all levels of the habituation to ideological dependence and to the fact that there is someone to do our thinking and the fighting against political opponents for us. Unless each communist recognizes his personal responsibility for the fate of the party and the fate of socialism, things could go badly for us.

The more so in that more than propitious conditions for propaganda against our party and slander of it are taking shape. The economic and political reforms initiated by

the party for the sake of the public good are proceeding with difficulty and in contradictory manner. The strain on the consumer market, the inflationary processes, the growth of crime, and so forth are giving rise to people's understandable dissatisfaction. It is very fashionable today to look for those to blame for this and provide explanations. It is, of course, necessary also that we do not forget about personal responsibility and have a scientific analysis of the reasons for the crisis phenomena.

But the Ukrainian Communist Party, which has today a majority in parliament and, consequently, the mandate of the electorate's trust for the formation of a government, must not only know how to explain why things have come about this way but also see the way out and clearly determine the paths of a solution of socioeconomic problems.

The congress also said the following in respect of the above:

an acceleration of the structural reorganization of the republic's economy and its turnabout toward man, specifically, saturation of the consumer market with commodities;

an increase in the amount of housing construction, the introduction of fundamentally new approaches to a solution of the housing problem and an improvement in the general amenities provided for people and all types of services for them;

a revival of the countryside and the peasantry of the Soviet Ukraine, the priority development of agriculture and the entire agroindustrial complex, and the solution on this basis of the food problem;

assertion of the economic sovereignty of the Ukraine and a renewal of its relations with the USSR and the Union republics on mutually profitable contract principles.

We attach great significance to the transition to a controlled market, but believe that this should start not with price rises but with the formation of the organizational and production and financial prerequisites and the creation of a dependable mechanism of the working people's social protection.

The organization and unity of action of the communists are needed for all this—the accomplishment of both socioeconomic and political tasks. I therefore consider a most important task both for the Central Committee and for myself personally the surmounting of the organizational disarray and the erosion of the party structures, which have, unfortunately, affected a number of party organizations.

And this by no means contradicts the policy of the party's democratization and the strengthening within it of the role of the primary party organizations. Each communist must be involved in the formulation of party policy. Each opinion, original all the more so, should be taken into consideration here. But we will be capable of nothing unless each feels his comrade's helping hand and the strength and support of his party. And organization and conscious discipline are needed for this.

[Reporters] Various, at times opposite, opinions were expressed at the 28th Ukrainian Communist Party Congress in the course of discussion of the Central Committee report regarding the present and future status of the Ukrainian Communist Party. With what do you invest the concept of party sovereignty? What is your attitude toward the possibility of the party's structure being brought into line with the structure of the state: a union of sovereign Soviet republics based on a new Union treaty and the creation of a similar alliance of independent communist parties of these republics with their own programs and rules on a common ideological platform?

[Gurenko] Indeed, various opinions were expressed. But I would not say that the congress failed to determine its position on this matter. The documents which it adopted record the formula: an independent Ukrainian Communist Party within a renewed CPSU. That there are many nuances in the interpretation of this formula is another matter. They may be sensed upon familiarization with the results of a poll of more than 1,300 delegates conducted by the sociological service of the 28th Ukrainian Communist Party Congress.

It is significant that the idea of total withdrawal from the CPSU found practically no support (one percent), but in respect of whether we should have our own program and statutes opinions were divided. Some 51.1 percent of the delegates were in favor, while approximately one-third believed that there is no need for this. Concern for the unity of the CPSU—this was the main reason for the hesitation regarding our own rules.

As for my personal opinion, I have no doubt that the 3 million-plus Ukrainian Communist Party cannot continue with the status of oblast organization of the CPSU, as was in fact the case in times past. It must not only itself determine its organizational structures and dispose of its resources but also have the opportunity to express the fundamental interests of the 52 million-strong people (its working majority, at least). Consequently, it has to have its own program documents. Nor do I see anything dreadful in its own rules either—this is not the main threat to CPSU unity. And I will exert every effort to do everything possible to preserve this unity and the internationalist nature of our party.

[Reporters] While having abandoned Article 6 of the Constitution, the party is being accused of having declared for itself the title of ruling party. So on the one hand sovereign soviets, on the other, a ruling party. Does this not in reality mean a diarchy, particularly where the communists are in a minority in the soviets?

[Gurenko] Permit me to disagree with you concerning the assertion "the party has declared for itself the title of ruling party." The alterations made on the party's initiative to Articles 6 and 7 of the Basic Law by the special

Third Congress of USSR People's Deputies emphasize the equality of the CPSU and other political parties and also trade union, youth, and other public organizations and mass movements in the running of state and public affairs.

It was this fundamental principle that guided us when preparing the program documents of the 28th Ukrainian Communist Party Congress. Of course, we aspire to our party being the **political vanguard** of the Ukrainian people and effectively influencing all aspects of their life by real fruitful work, initiative, and creativity. At the same time, however, we support the complete abandonment of political monopolism, of all that made the party an integral part of the authoritarian-bureaucratic system. That is, we emphatically reject the practice of the party committees loading onto themselves administrative and economic functions which are outside of their province.

Our fundamental position is that the basis and sole legitimate source of power in the republic is the sovereign will of the people of the Ukraine, which they realize on the basis of the Ukrainian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Constitution, by means of referendums and through their representatives democratically elected to the organs of power. In other words, political power is achieved only through democratic elections to the soviets. Under the new conditions, in free and honest competition with other public and political forces, the Ukrainian Communist Party will struggle for the right to political leadership by its theoretical and practical activity and capacity for offering the Ukrainian people constructive ways of solving acute problems of the life of the republic.

As far as "diarchy" is concerned, there is more political speculation here, perhaps, than actual problems. The more so when there comes to be talk about the fact that nothing will come of the soviets since the party committees are allegedly reluctant to hand over their power to the soviets. This is absurd. The party committees simply have nothing to hand over. After all, their influence was based on party discipline and the possibility of expelling some people or other from the party. Under multiparty conditions this no longer has anything to do with actual power—it is a purely intraparty matter.

Consequently, the problem is not one of handing over such rights to the soviets but of creating an entirely different power mechanism—giving the local soviets sufficient economic and legal levers of control.

The communists elected to the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet will seek for this the enactment of the appropriate laws.

[Reporters] In certain regions of the republic, including the Lvov region, the communists are currently having to work under opposition conditions. They have, of course, no experience of such work. Could you not give some advice concerning the communists' activity in such a situation and under multiparty conditions?

[Gurenko] I would like first and foremost to wish for one thing: a balanced analysis of life's realities and a fuller consideration of it in practical activity. And greater optimism and belief in one's own powers.

Electoral defeat is unpleasant, and it has changed appreciably not only the social and political situation in the region but also the situation in many party committees and primary organizations. But there should be no despair. We need to use this lesson, however bitter, for the cause, with a view to the future. Life itself demands a fundamental revision of the forms and methods of political work and the practice of ties to the work force and the population, a jettisoning of all that is old and ineffective, and the accumulation of practical experience under conditions which are for our party, let us be frank, both unfamiliar and unusual.

Obviously, for the party organizations of the Lvov region it is not only a question of their not having a majority in the soviets and of their having among the other parties represented there to play the part of opposition.

If this were all it were a question of, the advice would be simple: Learn parliamentary methods, draw up more attractive programs, and put the emphasis on more popular people. But there is, after all, a further aspect: Preeminent among the so-called democratic majority frequently are people of avowedly anticommunist views, for whom compromising the communists and the socialist choice is a more important goal than achieving any kind of actual improvements in the economy or social sphere. Consequently, it is necessary to work in an atmosphere of political provocation, the shameless laying of the blame on others, and so forth. It is easy under such conditions to slip into negativist positions. It is against this, against undue prejudice, that I would like to warn. We would not be communists if we did not put the good of the people above all personal ambitions and grievances and if we did not support all that is to the people's benefit, from whoever it emanate.

Accepting multiparty conditions as a reality, it is necessary to learn also the art of compromise. But some people reduce it to lack of principle and loss of political positions. History testifies that this is a road to nowhere. Political werewolves ultimately prove no use to anyone and are not respected either by former friends or former enemies.

I know that problems are arising not only in the soviets. A campaign to discredit the communists in the work force is underway, and some people would very much like to remove the party organizations from the enterprises. We regard this as a direct violation of human rights, and this must be emphatically rebuffed.

Yes, the party organizations lack experience of work in the role of opposition. This, like the outburst of the anticommunist sentiments, could not have failed to have been reflected in the activeness of the party cells locally and the general social bearing of their members.

Instances of people leaving the party, people's deputies included, have become more frequent.

Acknowledging all this is undoubtedly difficult. But is it the first time that our party has found itself in difficult conditions, is it the first time that its political demise has been predicted? We are firmly convinced that the setbacks and difficulties are a temporary phenomenon. The party organizations of the western region have sufficient forces to consolidate, renew their life and activity together with the whole party, and switch to the ideological offensive for the return of their lost positions. It is necessary for this to more actively prepare cadres capable of debating, addressing a mass audience, and persuasively and cogently defending the party line. I am convinced that far from full use has been made of the possibilities of the party media here.

We consider a bulwark in the cultivation and provision of such experience the party organizations and plant outfits which even in the present, extraordinarily complex situation are keeping to consistent internationalist positions and combining a strengthening of their ranks with daily work among people and the countering of political opponents.

And, finally, I am far from thinking of recommending that the party committees and organizations resort in the political struggle to the same means and methods as are being employed against them. But this struggle has its rules, and quite strict ones at that. And ignoring them and operating timidly and unduly circumspectly, in accordance with the "in case something goes wrong" principle, means condemning oneself to defeat in advance, as happened in a number of places at the time of the election campaign. Justified boldness and decisiveness are just as necessary a component of success as the accurate forecasting of the development of events and political farsightedness. The justice of the goals which the party organizations and the communists defend should give them this boldness.

[Reporters] Criticism of the republic's party and state authorities was heard at the congress for the not entirely, let us say, objective evaluation of the situation in certain western oblasts of the Ukraine, specifically in the well-known statement of the "three," the pinning on of various labels, and the charge of nationalism without sufficient grounds for this. What can you say in this connection?

[Gurenko] I would like to stress that the statement of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee and Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and Council of Ministers in connection with the political situation in Lvov, Ivano-Frankovsk, and Ternopol Oblasts was not for us simply some propaganda step. It was a response to numerous appeals of communists and nonparty people of the western oblasts demanding of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee and the organs of state power a political assessment of the situation. Some of them had begun to succumb to panic even and claim that they had been left to the whim of fate in the face of the lawlessness.

The statement was for them a means of moral support. Its basic content is very simple: Regardless of who the winner at the elections to the local soviets is, Soviet laws must be observed, and the party and state will not allow violations of human rights.

What is wrong with this, one would have thought? But this was not to the liking precisely of those who both in the election campaign and since have been inciting antisocialist sentiments and attempting to persuade people that they no longer have any reason to look for the protection of Soviet law. It is not surprising that they began to actively fan negative evaluations of the statement and effect a pose of injured innocence, frequently categorically retracting their own incautious statements and public protests even.

Even if the greater consideration and responsibility for their words and actions on the part of the leaders of the new soviets were the sole consequence of the statement, it might have been considered that it had been beneficial.

This does not mean that we do not see the shortcomings in it. It was obviously not possible in such a concise document to avoid a certain simplification of the situation and excessive generalization, in which the differences of the three oblasts and the appreciable singularities of local conditions in each of them were lost.

As far as the evaluations and expressions of the "impudent attempt to discredit the power of the soviets and constitutionally elected people's deputies," "confrontation with the region's democratic forces" and so forth type are concerned, we emphatically reject them. Even if some people resort to such phrase-mongering in all sincerity, the reason for this is, I believe, insufficient knowledgeability. We have more than sufficient specific instances of both a violation of the laws and a disregard for the Ukrainian SSR Constitution by both individual deputies of the local soviets of the western oblasts and by the soviets themselves—in some of their decisions.

One may agree or disagree with this law or the other and consider it good or unfortunate. But as long as this law is in force, it must be respected and complied with by all. Representatives of the "democratic bloc" so ardently campaigning for the building of a state based on the rule of law included. The election victory euphoria is not a reason for a recarving of the law and for legal arbitrariness.

[Reporters] And, finally, what would you wish for the communists and all working people of the Lvov region?

[Gurenko] Primarily confidence in their powers and belief in changes for the better. And, second, specific, intelligent work to bring these changes closer.

Stormy Ukrainian Parliament Debate Suspended

90UN2554A Moscow TRUD in Russian 4 Aug 90 p 2

[Article by M. Yurchenko under the rubric "Reply": "Hooligans... in the Parliament"]

[Text] Kharkov—The evening after the end of the television film "The Countess of Kozel" Ukrainian television viewers looked forward to seeing a sight even more gripping than the film: An intriguing announcement about an evening broadcast of a videotape of a plenary meeting of the Ukrainian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet was made during a live broadcast from the meeting hall of the Ukrainian parliament.

I must say that debates in raised voices are no longer a rarity here. But this sort of thing.... Judging by the sounds reaching us from the microphone, many of the deputies were almost taking the floor by storm. In the midst of the muddle of voices could clearly be heard, "This is hooliganism!.." The chairman again and again called for order. The radio announcer explained what was taking place to those viewers who did not understand the cause of the unceasing uproar. The presidium had proposed staffing for commissions to develop a new constitution for the republic and to draw up proposals for the draft of the Union treaty, and the composition of the staffing was being discussed. One of the Supreme Soviet deputies had seized the magnetic diskette of another deputy. The process of clearing up relations between them proceeded, to put it mildly, without observing parliamentary or ethical norms. The chairman was unable to eject the agitated parliamentarians. It was necessary to suspend the meeting....

Unfortunately it is impossible to call such ugly incidents extraordinary. Passions beyond reasonable bounds, tricks with the voting equipment, truancy by members of the Supreme Soviet, interruptions in the voting—all of these things happen one right after another. The voters who watched yesterday's scandalous broadcast telephoned TRUD in confusion: This is our parliament? The people's alarm is understandable. The quarrels in the supreme organ of power broadcast all over the Ukraine (there are programs every day) are not without consequences. Having a poor example in front of them, one that is contagious, the deputies in soviets at other levels permit themselves to lose their composure as well. Is it possible in the vehemence and storm of passions to make a reasoned decision? And these decisions will affect the fate of every voter. It is understood that simply stopping the broadcasts will not help matters. And no entertaining programs or films about intrigues at the royal court will be able to sweeten the bitter aftertaste.

Ukrainian People's Republic Registration Continues

LD1408125490 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1200 GMT 14 Aug 90

[From the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] The registration of citizens of the so-called Ukrainian People's Republic is continuing in Kiev. As a POSTFAKTUM agency correspondent reports, by yesterday, 250,000 citizens of the Ukrainian People's Republic had been registered.

Caucasus

Ter-Petrosyan Denies Plans To Meet Mutalibov

LD1408203190 Moscow TASS in English 2002 GMT 14 Aug 90

[By ARMENPRESS correspondent Gagik Melkumyan]

[Text] Yerevan August 14 TASS—Armenian leader Levon Ter-Petrosyan denied today that he intended to meet Azerbaijani President Ayaz Niyaz Ogly Mutalibov in Tbilisi.

The report announced by Soviet television on Monday is wrong and is a mistake, Ter-Petrosyan told the Armenian parliament.

The parliament met to discuss the forming of its standing commissions.

Their list will be finalized at its next meeting.

Ter-Petrosyan Briefs Supreme Soviet After Trip

PM1408114490 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Aug 90 Morning Edition p 2

[Report by Sergey Bablumyan under the "Direct Line" rubric: "Report on a Trip to Moscow"]

[Text] Yerevan—The morning sitting of the Armenian Supreme Soviet started with a report by L. Ter-Petrosyan, head of the republic's parliament, on the results of his talks in Moscow with N. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and leaders of the country's KGB and MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs].

After giving a positive evaluation of the results of the talks that were held, L. Ter-Petrosyan concentrated in particular on the problems involved in the decree of the country's president on disarming illegal military formations. He expressed the conviction that Armenia's proposal to extend the time limit for the implementation of the decree by three months was met with understanding. During that time it is proposed that a whole range of measures capable of stabilizing the situation in the republic and resolving the task set by the decree by the republic's own efforts and by peaceful means, be elaborated and implemented.

It was noted that the stabilization of the situation in Armenia is directly connected with the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast, which must be examined as a separate political factor.

L. Ter-Petrosyan gave a briefing on his meeting with Khasbulatov, deputy chairman of the Russian Supreme Soviet, which he assessed as highly fruitful and as having revealed that their positions coincided entirely on a large number of problems. An understanding was reached on exchanging permanent representatives of the two parliaments and speeding up the process of concluding economic agreements between Armenia and Russia.

Armenia's Manukyan Presents Program to Session

NC1408184090 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 1630 GMT 13 Aug 90

[Excerpts] At this morning's session of the Armenian Supreme Soviet, Levon Ter-Petrosyan, chairman of the republic's Supreme Soviet, invited Vladimir Markaryants, chairman of the Council of Ministers, to address the session. Markaryants announced the resignation of the government. After that, the session passed a unanimous decision which took cognizance of the statement made before the republic's Supreme Soviet by the chairman of the Armenian Council of Ministers concerning the resignation of the Council of Ministers. The decision also called on the Armenian Council of Ministers to continue carrying out its responsibilities until the formation of a new council of ministers by the republic's Supreme Soviet.

The session then undertook to elect a new chairman of the republic's Council of Ministers.

Supreme Soviet Chairman Ter-Petrosyan briefly enumerated the problems facing the chairman of the Council of Ministers. Exercising the right accorded to him he proposed Vazgen Manukyan, a senior lecturer at Yerevan State University, candidate of physical and mathematical sciences, and a member of Karabakh Committee and of the administrative board of the Armenian Pannational Movement, for the post of chairman of the republic's Council of Ministers. Ter-Petrosyan gave a brief general description of Manukyan and said, in particular:

[Begin recording] What characterizes Vazgen Manukyan? As I have already said, first of all he is remarkable for his broad political outlook. His thinking is profoundly national. [passage omitted]

He has expressed his national political views in two basic documents known to our people. The first is the program of the Armenian Pannational Movement—I have already said that this is an authoritative program, and its author is Vazgen Manukyan—and the second is the extensive political analysis entitled "It Is Time To Abandon the Train" which was published in the HAYK newspaper. They are known to our people both in Armenia and abroad. He has strong organizational abilities—abilities which are needed for that office—which were shaped during the student movements that took place in Moscow in the 1960s. I had the opportunity of getting to know Manukyan back in 1967 when an Armenian Cultural Club was operating in the State Supplies Faculty of the university. It was cultural only in name and in fact it was a political organization. That club was a fantastic school for all of us. And today it is no coincidence that it is mainly the people who passed through the political schooling of that club who are the leaders of our movement which started in 1988. His organizational abilities manifested themselves more markedly in February 1988, when he was at the heart of the Karabakh Committee created at the end of May, and the beginning of 1989. The Karabakh Committee, which in fact was operating under the name of the Armenian Committee for the Karabakh Movement, was created and formed around the person of Vazgen Manukyan.

About his contribution in the creation of the Armenian Pannational Movement I already spoke while referring to the program of the movement. I want to underline yet another characteristic of his: As a political activist, sometimes Manukyan might intentionally express extremist, strange, and unexpected views to demolish the people's [word indistinct]. Nevertheless, in fact, in his political activities he is a realist; it is a pure and firm realism which is incompatible with any political adventurism. He is against the artificial and radical changes in the prevailing political and economic mechanism. Gradual and bloodless reformations are closer to his views. This approach is much needed nowadays considering the unstable situation in our society and economy. We have first to strengthen the existing situation and the mechanism and only then, relying on these existing structures, can we gradually undertake the reformation of our economy and politics. Vazgen Manukyan is a strong advocate of this view. [passage omitted]

Though we might not implement all that we have planned, yet even as a transitional administration we have to respect our people and respond to their needs. Later, a more worthy administration, abler and wiser than us, might come forward and lead the republic to prosperity. We realize that we might be such a transitional administration. There could be no way out if this transitional government did not exist. This is a historical necessity which requires us to shoulder this heavy burden. If Vazgen Manukyan has accepted this heavy burden than I can assure you that he has done so after giving the matter serious thought. [end recording]

Vazgen Munukyan spoke next.

[Begin recording] Each nation aspires to attain strength and expand its sphere of influence. Though the criteria of power and the methods of expanding spheres of influence change with each age, one factor remains constant: The possession of an independent state has been the first essential requirement for all nations throughout history to attain power. Now the political situation gives us the opportunity to undertake that for which we have been struggling: to commence the work for the restoration of independent statehood. By restoring our statehood we would be taking our first important step toward fulfilling the age-long aspirations of our people.

At present many problems have accumulated before us, the solution of which requires the unity and cooperation of the Armenians of the whole world. Each of us must act responsibly.

On the way to the restoration of independence it became possible to sever one of the most important threads that tied us to the center. Now, the Armenian leadership is not subordinate to Moscow. The tentacles extending from the central Communist Party to us were severed. And I am convinced that our Armenian communists will have enough courage and wisdom to detach their party from Moscow and thus turn it into a national party. One important thread has been severed. Our Supreme Soviet will in its turn sever many other threads which tie us to the center; many others will break of their own accord.

However, our future political moves are intrinsically tied up with our economic system. We have inherited a collapsed economy on the brink of the precipice. We must not only revive it but also create economic structures characteristic of an independent state. Naturally, there cannot be full economic independence. Even the United States cannot be described as fully independent economically. It is tied to different countries of the world by economic threads and is dependent on those ties. Thus, even in decisionmaking it is not fully independent; it has to take into account possible counter measures by its competitors. There is no complete economic independence, but there are grades of it. In this regard we are almost at grade zero. I have in mind not only our collapsed economy, the existence of the disaster zone, hundreds of thousands of refugees in Armenia, and the problem of Artsakh [Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast], but also the fact that our only real foreign economic tie is with the center. Yet, this system is giving way to independent ties between certain Union republics. If a man is economically tied to a single person, and a stronger person at that, then he is in servitude; and if he is tied to hundreds then he is a free man. The same law in politics also applies in economics: The more partners you have the greater your maneuverability, which in turn makes you more independent. Therefore, in the course of creating an independent state many new economic ties must be forged with other countries. However, to establish such ties one must produce goods which are sellable on the international market. The issue is not only the quality of goods. I also have in mind the fact that today we produce almost 3.5 million types of goods, that is we produce everything yet produce nothing. We mostly produce individual components and semi-manufactured goods which cannot be sent to the international market. Those economic threads which tie us to the center and other republics do not bolster our economy but at present serve to keep us in slavery.

Let us also discuss the possibilities of reviving our collapsed economy. From the very start, the USSR abandoned the free and self-sustaining economic system and created a planned socialist economy fully directed from the center, believing that such an economic structure would ensure the solution of two important problems: ostensibly it would ensure, first, faster economic growth and, second, social equality and justice. Neither goal was attained. As regards social justice let me bring forth only one criterion: The richest 20 percent of the U.S. population live only three times better than the poorest 20 percent of the population. In the USSR, however, it is sixfold and in Armenia ninefold, and this despite the widespread poverty. We have to struggle against this phenomenon. We must also keep in mind the lessons of the Bolshevik revolution in connection with the expropriation of property. Having this in mind it would be correct to move in the opposite direction.

One should not impose economic restrictions on the people. Rather, they must be given freedom to invest their capital and earn the resultant income. Economic and legal protection mechanisms should be worked out which would allow the people to introduce what they possess into circulation.

So far it has not been possible to achieve social justice and ensure normal economic development. At present the socialist economy is collapsing very rapidly and all efforts to salvage it will be in vain. The attempt by the center to introduce a slow economic reform program throughout the entire USSR and the efforts to pass from a socialist economy to an economy based on private ownership and the free market also produced no results. The centrifugal forces gained strength. And now, many republics are trying to extricate themselves from that grave economic situation by their own efforts and are implementing their own programs. Now, the republics are moving away faster from the center, while continuing to remain tied to the center and to each other by a common currency and certain traditional economic ties which were created by the socialist economy during the preceding decades. Although these ties are still necessary they will be meaningless in the future.

Competition is starting between the republics. The socialist economy is on the verge of being replaced by a new economy based on private ownership, shareholding companies, and the free market. Those republics which could orient faster, which have extensive natural resources, a better scientific-technological work force, and a more enterprising population will advance farther.

The ties characteristic of the socialist economy will be severed, and new ties will develop. If we lag behind this competition then after a while we will be unable to obtain fuel, foodstuffs, and raw materials. This is not because of our declaration of independence but because of natural economic reasons. If we remain behind then the goods which we have been selling to Russia so far in exchange for fuel, foodstuffs, and other things will no longer be in demand in Russia, which will be able to buy the same goods but of a better quality from other sources. From this angle it looks as though our economy is very vulnerable.

We have to enter the competition under these difficult conditions by speedily replacing the entire socialist economy with a new economy, the basis of which should be private ownership. We have to traverse a difficult road. On the one hand we must speed up the privatization of state ownership and on the other hand we have for a certain time to preserve the futureless socialist economy to some extent, to prevent large-scale unemployment and gain a breathing space for the economy.

The formulation of an independent credits policy will have a major significance in the development of the new economy. However, this could become impossible if opposed by the central authority. The central authority will try to prevent us from going forward and it has enormous advantages on this score, for its currency is in circulation in our economy.

Finding foreign financial resources will play a significant role in developing and rendering our economy independent.

Under these conditions it is not possible substantially to raise the living standards of the majority. The only thing that I can foresee is the possibility of somewhat stabilizing the situation and within a few years creating those mechanisms which would enable us to extricate our republic from that quagmire in which it is now.

I want to add something else which I consider important. All our efforts will be in vain, and no heroism and no contrivance will be of any help, it will not be possible to restore independent statehood, and it will not be possible to solve the Artsakh problem and develop the economy unless all Armenians unite around these national problems and are imbued with what I call a healthy nationalism. [passage omitted] [end recording]

[Passage omitted] After the recess the session reconvened and Vazgen Manukyan replied to many questions perturbing the people's deputies. He clarified the measures to be taken to extricate the republic from the grave economic and political situation. [passage omitted]

The deputies cast their votes during a closed and secret ballot. At 1700 Deputy Arutyunyan, chairman of the auditing commission, announced the results of the secret voting and stated that Vazgen Mikayelovich Manukyan had been elected chairman of the republic's Council of Ministers. The session unanimously endorsed the results of the voting and passed a relevant decision. Manukyan was asked to form a new republican government within a month.

It was then decided to establish a post of secretary of the Supreme Soviet and introduce the appropriate constitutional amendments. Deputy Ara Akopovich Saakyan was proposed and elected to that post by a closed and secret ballot. The session will continue its deliberations tomorrow.

Seizures of Weapons Continuing in Armenia

LD1408135890 Moscow TASS in English 1341 GMT 14 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondent Aleksandr Borisov]

[Text] Moscow August 14 TASS—The situation in Armenia remains serious, according to Soviet Interior Ministry communiques. Armed attacks to seize weapons and ammunition are becoming more commonplace in various parts of the republic. The building of local Interior Ministry departments and road traffic administration posts come under fire.

Unidentified persons opened fire at the buildings of the road traffic administration in the Abovyanskiy, Sevanskiy and Ashtarakskiy districts of Yerevan last Sunday.

In the evening of the same day, about 50 armed people fired on the building of the Interior Ministry department in Yerevan's Sovetskiy district. The shooters fled only after militiamen returned fire.

About a hundred armed people assaulted the base of the Armelektromash production association in the Masisskiy district on Sunday, August 12, and drove away a car and a lorry.

A 20-strong armed group forced their way into the district Interior Ministry department in the Armenian city of Megri on Monday, seizing five carbines, three pistols and over 1,700 cartridges. The attackers ran away, stealing two militia vehicles.

On the same day, unidentified people launched an attack on the State Security Committee (KGB) city department, seizing an automatic gun.

Deputy Recommends Solutions for Armenia

90US1233A Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 31, 4-10 Aug 90 pp 4-5

[Report on interview with USSR People's Deputy T. Gdlyan, by P. Lukyanchenko under the rubric "Today There Are From 10,000 to 100,000 Members of Armed Formations in the Armenian SSR": "Gdlyan Suggests an Alternative"—first paragraph is an editorial introduction]

[Text] **"If N.V. Ivanov has appeared on Leningrad television, then T.Kh. Gdlyan has disappeared. What has happened to him? This is the question being asked with increasing frequency in our readers' letters. Our correspondent ran USSR People's Deputy T. Gdlyan to ground in Yerevan, where, together with N. Ivanov, as people's deputies of the Armenian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic], he is involved in the work of the republic parliament.**

[Gdlyan] Please reassure your readers that I have not gone missing and that nothing has happened to me. After assessing our present situation, N. Ivanov and I are still opposed to the existing regime and we concluded that today we should concentrate on parliamentary work and

on resolving the urgent problems of our electorate. In particular, in order to help the city of Zelenograd, which elected me as USSR people's deputy, to stand on its feet, I have appealed to N.I. Ryzhkov, urgently requesting that Zelenograd's status as a closed city be rescinded and that it be made a free economic zone in the very near future.

[Lukyanchenko] I would like you to tell me, in your position as an Armenian deputy, what has caused the present outburst of extremism in the republic. Why, according to the official media, are Armenian armed militants stockpiling weapons and concentrating near the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO]?

[Gdlyan] I can see from the way in which you have worded the question that even journalists are not very knowledgeable about the situation. I am, therefore, not inclined to suspect all central press and television workers without exception of maliciously presenting a one-sided view of the real state of affairs in Armenia or of whipping up anti-Armenian sentiments.

Now, with respect to the armed militants, or fedayeen ("defenders of the people") as they are called. The formations that have spontaneously arisen are the reaction of the Armenian people, who through their own bitter experience have realized that they can expect nothing from the center.

Meanwhile, in Yerevan the fedayeen are keeping market prices down and are not allowing the paying customers to be "gouged."

[Lukyanchenko] Pardon me, but how do you explain the murder of civilians by the armed militants? And, indeed, the attacks on the Army garrisons can in no way be justified.

[Gdlyan] For the past two years there have been no anti-Army sentiments in Armenia. They have emerged only in these last months, when the people realized that the Army will not save them. Attacks on the military and on militia workers are indeed taking place. But with rare exceptions they are bloodless and are carried out in order to seize weapons.

Moreover, you must also take into account the fact that not all armed groups should be identified with the fedayeen movement, which enjoys support from the people. The local mafia clans have now provided themselves with armed militants whom they are using not only to settle scores among themselves, as in the tragic case of the bus, but also for purely provocative purposes—to support an unstable situation that is favorable for them, provoke an emergency situation, and halt democratic transformations.

[Lukyanchenko] As a lawyer you must be aware what results from the presence of a large number of weapons among the population. And in this sense there is obviously no other path except the one proposed by the USSR president, namely, to disarm the Armenian armed militants within 15 days.

[Gdlyan] And I myself think that the further uncontrolled operation of the armed formations in the republic is intolerable. But the center is suggesting a senseless solution—disarming. Has anyone considered what the result of this will be? Counterviolence! And then there will be not tens of thousands of fedayeen, but hundreds of thousands. And then what? Give the order to fight an entire people?! It will be Afghanistan all over again!

[Lukyanchenko] Can this problem be resolved in any other way?

[Gdlyan] It can. And today there is no other way to resolve the problem than to create an Armenian national guard. To give these armed formations the status of republic forces to maintain order and to be subordinate to the republic Supreme Soviet. And as the national guard is being formed, the Armenians themselves will sort out who is who and purge their own ranks of casual and criminal elements. And there will be no need once again to bring in thousands of young men from Smolensk or Ryazan to resolve the Armenians' internal problems for them.

[Lukyanchenko] Perhaps you have a solution for the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict also?

[Gdlyan] I do. Given the neglect being shown to this question, today there is no other way than to hold a referendum in the NKAO. And in my opinion the most painless solution for both the Azeris and the Armenians would be to declare the NKAO an all-Union autonomous formation subordinate directly to the USSR Supreme Soviet.

[Lukyanchenko] And how did the economic blockade of Armenia end?

[Gdlyan] It has not ended. One of these days economic ruin will come to Armenia; enterprises have already ceased operations because of shortages of raw materials, fuel, and electric power. And consider this: With all the acuteness of present relations between Azerbaijan and Armenia, the main source of conflict lies not with the people—simple people can do nothing....

One asks oneself why, in the existing situation, the center has not deployed troops along the entire transport artery through Azerbaijan territory which is used to supply Armenia. I am convinced that this would produce results. But nothing is being done.

[Lukyanchenko] It is claimed that Armenia is thinking about seceding from the USSR. How true is this?

[Gdlyan] I cannot, of course, answer for all the Armenian people; they will decide this themselves. But the very

geopolitical position of the republic makes it impossible to count on any comfortable or safe existence outside the USSR.

What now worries Armenians the most is how to achieve economic independence and the prosperity of the people. One of the points in my election platform was the idea of creating an "Armenian technopolis" on the basis of priority development of the electronics industry and advanced technologies—in short, to follow the path taken by Japan or South Korea and achieve a technological breakthrough in an historically short period of time. During the initial stage we can count on support from the diaspora to implement these ideas.

Of course, there is another indispensable condition, namely, unifying all progressive national forces, and also friendly work by the democratic majority in the parliament.

It is also encouraging that Armenia is becoming the first republic in the Union where national elections for a president will be held on a contested basis. And, relying on the will of the people and the parliamentary majority, that president can undoubtedly do more for his own republic than one who is chosen for that post through games played by the apparatus.

[Lukyanchenko] A final question: Persistent rumors are circulating in Moscow that you will be Armenia's first president.

[Gdlyan] It would be better to ask "Armenian Radio" that question.

Democratic Election Bloc Set Up in Azerbaijan

NC1408155690 Istanbul TERCUMAN in Turkish 9 Aug 90 p 9

[Text] Baku (TERCUMAN)—A "Democratic Azerbaijan Election Bloc" [Demokratic Azerbaijan Secim Bloku] has been established in Azerbaijan to press for democratic elections on 2 September [date as published]. Sixty-nine political parties and social establishments are participating in the bloc, which was established as a result of the efforts of the Popular Front of Azerbaijan.

The executive board of the Popular Front had appealed to various establishments for the setting up of an election bloc in the past. The appeal was published in the edition of the newspaper AZADLIK which appeared immediately after the 20 January incidents in Azerbaijan. The appeal said: "We shall approach with respect the setting up of an organization which will work for the freedom, sovereignty, and independence of the people," and called on the establishments to act together.

Noting that differences of opinion are a natural occurrence in democratic movements, the appeal added: "The historic tasks that lie ahead require the democratic forces to unite and establish a bloc."

Furthermore, it said that establishments such as the "Committee for Popular Aid to Nagorno-Karabakh," the "Public Welfare Association," the "Council of Elders," the "Association of Refugees," and the "Union of Democratic Intellectuals of Azerbaijan" should take part in the bloc without discrimination. Sixty-nine political parties and social establishments attended a meeting called by the Popular Front of Azerbaijan at the Academy of Sciences on 8 July and established the "Democratic Azerbaijan Election Bloc." The parties to the bloc decided to act in unity and cohesion in order to ensure that democratic elections are held on 2 September.

Meanwhile, it has been reported that the establishment of the election bloc by the Popular Front has caused panic in the government of Azerbaijan and that the measures taken to suppress the front have been intensified.

Tension Persists in Azerbaijan's Baku City

PM1408142590 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 11 Aug 90 First Edition p 5

[Report by special correspondent O. Vladykin under the general headline "Political Situation: Quiet Times Have Still Not Arrived"]

[Text] Since February this year the daily report produced by the USSR MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] Internal Troops Main Administration tactical task force in Baku has invariably carried the same wording: "The situation in the city remains unchanged. No interethnically motivated illegal actions have been recorded." The last 15 days—the period of operation of the USSR president's decree of 25 July—were no exception. Although it was precisely during this period that one was conscious of some increase in tension among city residents.

I inquired at the Baku commandant's office how thoroughly the decree's demands are being implemented. I was given the following figures. Since December 1989, 32 cases of arms thefts have been recorded in the city (half of which were hunting guns). However, in the same period 1,191 weapons, of which 342 were combat arms, 152 hunting weapons, and 697 practice weapons, were confiscated from the population or surrendered voluntarily. However, the bulk of the confiscations were made at the beginning of the year. Subsequently the city's inhabitants have only periodically been found to be carrying either a signal flare, a dozen rounds of ammunition, or a training grenade... There was, admittedly, one major confiscation—166 weapons and 1.5 million rounds of ammunition on 16 June. But then just isolated cases once again.

These statistics compel us to ask the following question: Doesn't the lack of an appreciable increase in the quantity of weapons collected by the troops and law-enforcement organs over the last two months indicate that this extremely important work has slackened off

precisely when it should have been developed extensively? To which Colonel (Internal Service) V. Buniyatov, Baku's commandant, replied as follows:

"No, we are doing everything necessary in this situation. I draw your attention to the fact that highly resolute steps were taken to confiscate weapons immediately after the events of January in the city. Including the closure of air rifle ranges. Although I cannot give a 100-percent guarantee that there are no illegally armed people in Baku, the number of such people has, I believe, now been reduced to a minimum. There is no mass possession of weapons, much less any armed groupings here."

Well, the commandant's explanations probably might have had a soothing effect if he himself had not refrained for the time being from making optimistic forecasts. He has his reasons for this.

Only 8 August an event occurred in Baku which could have played a clearly destabilizing role in the current situation. Several dozen women, gathered at the burial place of those who died in January to honor their memory, unexpectedly set off for the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee building. On their arrival they demanded a meeting with the republic's president, A. Mutalibov. This meeting took place. The president received five demonstrators, thus incidentally relieving the passions which were rapidly increasing in pitch. I also succeeded in talking to them.

Kh. Gashimova and Sh. Kasumova contended that this was an ad hoc demonstration. One of the women who had come to the graves of those who died claimed that hundreds of people had gathered outside the Central Committee building with demands to be put to the republic's leadership. Everyone followed her.

But when we got there," Kasumova said, "there was absolutely no one there. It became clear that we had been misled. But once we had gotten there we decided to voice our view of what is happening in the republic."

The standard photographs of people currently under investigation were instantly pinned to the dresses of almost all the gathering. The women above all were concerned for them, considering these people to be political prisoners. Moreover, they claimed that repressions are continuing in Azerbaijan.

I will not undertake to make judgment in passing as to the rightfulness of the questions they raised, since they are obviously complex. But I am convinced that they chose by no means the most suitable time to make these demands. After all, as Baku's commandant said on republic television the evening of 8 August, even individual irresponsible citizens making unconstitutional, politically immature demands can undermine the emergent trend toward the complete stabilization of the situation in the city.

Azerbaijan Meeting Examines Situation in NKAO

NC1408152190 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 0440 GMT 12 Aug 90

[From the republican press review]

[Text] The newspapers reported today that a meeting held at the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee examined matters relating to the effort to further normalize the situation in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] and strengthen the situation on Azerbaijan's border with the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR]. Sofonov, commandant of the state of emergency regime in the NKAO and adjacent rayons in Azerbaijan SSR; (?Ishokin), head of the investigation group affiliated with the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs; and the leading officials of the law enforcement organs in the NKAO briefed the meeting on the arrangements made to stabilize the situation in the NKAO and enforce the law in the autonomous oblast.

It was noted that 81 special operations were carried out in 43 residential areas in the NKAO from January to June 1990. A total of 350 kg of explosives, 1,200 rifles of different kinds, tens of thousands of pieces of combat equipment, 45 field radios, 180 hail guns and firing devices, and 3,800 rounds of ammunition were confiscated. Meanwhile, 180 pieces of equipment, including foreign equipment, and 300 tons of provisions were confiscated from the depots belonging to the armed Armenians.

The participants in the meeting also conducted a detailed examination of the incidents which have taken place in Chaykend town in Khanlarskiy Rayon, Shaumyanskiy Rayon, and the Nakhichevan Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic. President Ayaz Mutalibov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, concluded the meeting.

Among those participating in the meeting were Comrades Guseynov and Kafarova; Asadov, Azerbaijan SSR minister of internal affairs; and (?Gayibov), procurator of the Azerbaijan SSR.

Central Asia

Tajik Decree on Draft Declaration of Sovereignty

LD1408210390 Dushanbe Domestic Service in Tajik 1600 GMT 14 Aug 90

[Text] Decree of the Tajik SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet on the draft declaration of state sovereignty of the Tajik SSR.

The Tajik SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decrees:

The draft declaration on the state sovereignty of the Tajik SSR is advisable and should be published in the press for public discussions.

Soviets and oblasts, rayon and city people's deputies, offices of newspapers and the Tajik SSR State Committee for Television and Radio should send all proposals and observations received concerning the draft to the Tajik SSR Supreme Soviet commission on legislative matters, rights and appeals of citizens. The Tajik SSR Supreme Soviet commission on legislative matters, rights and appeals of citizens should sum up the results of discussions on the draft by 22 August 1900 and should submit the completed draft—in view of the proposals and observations—for discussion to the second session of the Tajik SSR Supreme Soviet.

Tajik Democratic Party Holds Conference

LD1508101890 Moscow World Service in English 0700 GMT 15 Aug 90

[Text] The opening conference of Tajikistan's Democratic Party has been held in Dushanbe. Taking part were 170 delegates from all regions and major cities of that Central Asian republic. They elected the new party steering bodies and addressed an appeal to the national parliament and people. The conference took place in one of the buildings of the Tajik Academy of Sciences and it elected a philosopher as the party leader. The democrats explained their decision to unite by the desire to become an alternative to the communist party at a time when the one party bureaucratic system in Tajikistan has proved inconsistent.

Niyazov Cited on Sovereignty of Turkmen Republic

90US1157A Ashkhabad TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA in Russian 17 Jun 90 p 1

[TURKMENINFORM report: "Toward the Republic's Sovereignty—Through a Renewed Federation"]

[Text] As already reported, a joint meeting of the Turkmen SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet Presidium and the Turkmen Communist Party Central Committee Bureau was held on 14 June. It was addressed by S.A. Niyazov, chairman of the Turkmen SSR Supreme Soviet and first secretary of the Turkmen Communist Party Central Committee. Having briefed those present on the results of the meeting of the USSR Council of the Federation, he said, inter alia:

The problems which we are to discuss go beyond party politics proper. They are most closely connected both with questions of the federation and comprehension of the transition to a market economy under the specific conditions of the republic. I would like in this connection to hear the opinion of our government in connection with the priority measures which it intends implementing in the new situation.

Going on to dwell on the results of the meeting of the USSR Council of the Federation, S.A. Niyazov said that they were complex and reflected the broad range of the participants' opinions. However, the prevailing position may be termed the one which amounted to the priority of the federation with the republics' right to political and economic sovereignty. We support such a position because on the one hand we see it as a guarantee of preservation of the unity of the country and, on the other, as an opportunity for the further full-fledged development of the republic, which is tied to the country by thousands of threads. I would like to cite a few examples of what the republic receives and from where. We import 45 percent of our meat from Russia and other republics. And they supply us with 61 percent of our milk, 75 percent of our butter, 100 percent of our sugar, 35 percent of our candy, and 62 percent of our grain. Altogether the republic imports 78 percent of its food products from outside the republic. For this reason we should not now be saying that we are losing out in some respects and not receiving enough of some things. We need to update interrepublic contracts and on the basis thereof adopt mutually profitable solutions and strengthen ties to other republics.

The economic relations which have taken shape at this time, however imperfect, are the objective reality which we can neither overstep nor cast aside. Only today, perhaps, are we beginning to have a clear understanding of the extent to which the republic's rights were infringed in all preceding decades. No subsidies of the past or today's subventions can cover the republic's losses from the extraction of its rich raw material resources. The 100-percent government contract for cotton and the three-percent budget allowances for gas—can such economic relations with the state be considered normal?

The situation is now changing, and changing radically. Each republic is acquiring the right to ownership of its own territory and its interior and may conclude comprehensive contracts with the center and other republics. The conclusion of such contracts, and this, S.A. Niyazov observed, was emphasized particularly at the meeting, should be preceded by thorough preparatory work together with consideration of such a factor of not inconsiderable importance as the difference in the republics' starting levels. A special commission is being created for drawing up contracts, and we must give thought to whom to delegate to participate in this work. It is essential to ensure that the republic's rights finally be relieved of the burden of state monopoly and acquire legal force.

In a word, the item on the agenda concerns the qualitatively new content of the very "federation" concept and its suffusion with profound meaning reflecting the actual alignment of forces and requirements of the republics. But the main, paramount task is to prevent a weakening of the country and the prevalence of separatist trends and sentiments.

No less important a task in this connection is to contribute by all political and explanatory methods to the people's correct and calm perception of the changes which are taking place and to the growth and strengthening of their conviction as to the need for measures

geared to an improvement in the state arrangement incorporating confederative forms together with federative elements.

S.A. Niyazov dwelt on the problems which have to be solved in connection with the transition to a controlled market economy and specified the aspects which reflect the specifics of the republic and the salient feature of its economic development. These factors dictate to us the need for a staged transition to the market for otherwise the mechanism of social protection of the population will suffer. We cannot permit this, and for this reason all forces need to be channeled into the search for optimum solutions. We need to carefully investigate measures to compensate the population for losses from the increase in prices, for flour primarily.

S.A. Niyazov emphasized that, as mentioned earlier, there is opinion in favor of no increase in the price of flour. At the meeting with the country's leaders I notified them of this, he said. Flour is a staple of the Turkmen diet. Therefore, if we raise its price, this will hit the budget of many families, large families particularly. To prevent an increase in the price of flour this year we were allocated R448 million from the center. The republic's population increases by 100,000 annually. For this reason we requested, considering the increase in population, an annual increase in the amount allocated our republic and won agreement on this issue. We now have to decide how to dispose of this money. Whether, having increased the price of flour, to issue people money by way of compensation or whether each family will purchase flour for coupons, for which the state will reimburse the trading organizations. In the event of money in compensation being issued to the population, it should be issued separately from the wage since the compensation would not be taxable. We want to consult the people. The rayon soviet executive committees and the rural soviets need to learn the population's opinion on this matter. All proposals should be conveyed to the government of the republic, which will make the final decision. Whether we leave the old prices in effect or whether we resort to cash compensation, the working people's satisfied interests should be the outcome.

M. Razhanov, deputy chairman of the Turkmen SSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the republic Gosplan [State Planning Committee], spoke subsequently at the meeting by way of an exchange of opinions on the problem under discussion and, specifically, the impending price rises.

Some 556,000 tons of flour, including 398,000 tons of "pure" flour, are consumed in our republic annually, he said. The rest goes for the manufacture of bakery products. Some 72 percent of the "pure" flour is used in the countryside. In monetary terms all this amounts to R224 million. If prices triple, an additional R448 million will be required. Although the price of bakery products will rise, we intend returning to people the difference in price. How will this be done? There are several ways. Thanks, for example, to an increase in the price of bakery products, as in other republics if they adopt such a decision. What would this give us? The state purchase price of grain and the market price of bakery products would be matched. This would force people to save bread. According to our calculations, it would be possible in this way to economize on approximately three percent. As a result the above-mentioned R224 million would be returned to the people. Each republic will decide for itself how this is done. For example, every working person would be issued R13 monthly, and children, taking age into account, from R6 to R10. Both pensioners and other categories of the population should be included here. On average a family of five, in which two are working, would receive R45-R50 free of tax. There is a second method also. Prices would remain as before. Naturally people would not receive compensation. This money would be transferred in the form of a subsidy to the enterprises manufacturing the bakery products. What is good about this is that people would not be worried, and there would be no speculative buying. But there is a negative aspect too. If prices remain as before, but in neighboring republics they triple, flour could be taken out of the republic. Monitoring this would be difficult, and rationing would have to be imposed. In addition, it is planned as of 1 January next year to raise the price of meat and milk. For example, if the price of meat is more than R5, but remains the same for flour, there will be even less respect for bread. We therefore need to think well and make the right decision.

A. Charyyev, first deputy chairman of the Turkmen SSR Council of Ministers, who addressed the meeting, emphasized the prospects for the republic of a move under the new economic conditions onto the foreign market and confirmed this in the example of relations which are taking shape with Kuwait. This is one of the world's richest countries, he emphasized. Capital invested in other countries constitutes somewhere between $80 and $100 billion. For this reason we expressed a desire to cooperate with this country. In April we met with representatives of one company and signed an agreement of intent on cooperation. A representative of this company recently visited us. We conducted negotiations over several days and reached an important agreement.

The contract provides for acquisition of the end product from raw material produced in the republic. The Kuwaiti side undertakes to completely process 50,000-100,000 tons of cotton. Having visited the Dzerzinskiy Ashkhabad Cotton Works, our overseas partners concluded that were the enterprise to be furnished with modern equipment, it would be possible to increase output fivefold-tenfold. In addition, we familiarized ourselves with a plan for the construction of a large spinning works in Neftezavodsk. A representative of this company proposed furnishing the enterprise with his equipment, which would make it possible to increase the production of yarn by up to 35,000 tons. We also negotiated the treatment of up to 40 billion cubic meters of the gas we

produce and the acquisition of polyethylene and certain another essential components. This is planned for the next two to three years. All this, of course, is a big achievement for the republic. But a fundamental change in attitude is needed. If we treat work in the same way as, for example, at the cotton works, we will not justify our partners' trust. If, however, we set about work properly, considerable changes will take place within two or three years within the republic's economy.

The measures being implemented by the government of the republic pertaining to realization of the decisions of the First Session of the Turkmen SSR Supreme Soviet were reported at the meeting by Kh. Akhmedov, chairman of the Turkmen SSR Council of Ministers.

As you know, he said, the session raised the task of providing the country and the town with natural gas, dependable energy supplies, and water. Members of a special commission visited practically every village, district, and city. They conferred on the time at which to perform this work and on what monetary and material resources were needed for this. We also requested the necessary assistance of M.S. Gorbachev and N.I. Ryzhkov. The staff of the republic and union gosplans [state planning commissions] drew up a work program which stipulates when and where the work is to be performed. One thing is clear: For what has been planned to be accomplished on schedule common efforts locally and in the center are necessary. We have spoken of this repeatedly both with the deputies and with party officials and have appealed to the people. Certain work is already being done in almost all areas of Mary Oblast. The leaders of farms and rayon soviet executive committees and party and soviet officials of Kirovskiy, Geok-Tepinskiy, Kaakhkinskiy, and Bakhardenskiy Rayons are participating actively in realization of the adopted program. They are using their raw material for exchange for the needed material outside the republic. These facts instill hope. But, unfortunately, there are many shortcomings in this business in Tashauz and Chardzhou Oblasts. There is much potential here which is not as yet being used.

In conjunction with the union Gosplan we studied once more in detail the program which had been drawn up. According to our calculations, the republic needs R1.5 billion of material. It has been promised that we will be allocated 50-55 percent of this amount, and the remaining resources will be considered in the annual plans.

A most difficult question is the provision of pipes for conveying gas and water. The republic has the opportunity to build a plant for the manufacture of metal pipes on the basis of imported raw material. We intend obtaining the money for the purchase of equipment overseas from the sale of cotton over and above the plan. If all this is done at the proper time, there will be an opportunity for us ourselves to produce the materials in short supply. In addition, we plan building a plant for the manufacture of polyethylene pipes. All these measures will, we hope, make it possible to tackle the tasks set by the republic's Supreme Soviet session and bring its economic independence closer.

Summing up the meeting, S.A. Niyazov emphasized the novelty of the issue under discussion and the fact that this imposed particular responsibility for the formulation and adoption of decisions.

We must in this preparatory period display a balanced, realistic approach and contribute in every possible way to ensuring the prevention of damage to the country's unity. Together with this we need flexibility and firmness in defense of the republic's interests. Some of our leaders, who have grown accustomed to living and working in the old way, hoping for state subsidies, need to fundamentally reconsider their positions and acquire independence and management skills. After all, there is so much potential lying on the surface, as they say. It has already been mentioned. I do not wish to repeat myself but I have to emphasize once again that we must make better use of the republic's potential, aspects of international cooperation included. It is necessary to create a foreign bank immediately and embark finally on the realization of foreign trade ties.

We have a single purpose—preserving stability and tranquillity in the republic and leading it to a new qualitative level of development, making use for this of the broad rights accorded us within a union of sovereign socialist states.

This does not mean, of course, that everyone must march only in step, only in accordance with a single command, and it does not infringe the republic's sovereignty in the least. We can only achieve success together, only in close cooperation. Progress in our multinational country is indivisible.